Sir Edward Dering of Surenden Dering, in the County of Kent, Knight, and Baronett. &c.

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Sir Edw. Dering
REVIVED.
OR A
Collection of Speeches
MADE BY
Sir EDWARD DERING
KNIGHT and BARONET,

In matter of

RELIGION.

Some formerly Printed, and diverse more now added: All of them revised, for the Vindication of his Name, from weak and wilfull Calumnie.

And by the same
Sir *Edward Dering* now subjected to publick *View* and *Censure*, Upon the urgent importunity of many, both *Gentlemen* and *Divines*.

Ovid. *Dat veniam Corvis vexat censuræ columbas.*
Aristoph. in Avib. Μαρτύρομαι τυπτόμενος ὦ ἐπίσκοπος.

London, Printed for L. *Chapman*, and are to be sold at his shop next door to the *Fountain* Tavern, near *Worcester house*, 1660.

UMI

George Harding 12. D. 136 ff. from Thorp's, Guildford # 474 # 577 (8[illegible])

1660
D433

To the Reader.

LET them who are in a fault ransome themselves with excusatory defences. I have no such worke in hand. A short Narration will be my just Vindication.

Apologies are ever read with Jelousie: and they are indeed but after-games at Reputation. These sheets doe not weare that livery: I have no need to Apologize.

Nothing in my selfe hath moved me to open these Papers abroad: and what need I regard the emptie opinion of such as doe either weakly or wilfully traduce? But they doe traduce! it is said that I doe [illegible] yet none can justly say, where, when, to whom, or what, I ever said that I doe since recede from.

Reader, if thou either be a Scholler or a Gentleman, read and censure freely: I feare no blot from thy hand: if thou be neither, cast what dirt thou wilt, none will stick on me. And indeed I had rather (if thou be such) beare the scourge of thy tongue, then have the kisses of thy lips: The latter would make me suspect my selfe; the former would beget a hope of some merit in me.

A well-fare to my Reader, if he be, either of birth or breedings. A farewell to the rest.

Edward Dering.

SECTION I.

WHy am I thus unhappily, and thus publickly engaged? If my head and my heart have alway gone even pace together, if my conscience and my tongue have ever kept one tune, how is it that I heare my selfe changed? If any thing I have said or done be contrarians, nay if dissonant or retardant to a most *severe Reformation*, (the utmost of my constant wish and profession) nay if upon any occasion I have therin been remisse and tepid, if upon all occasions I have not given my active and my hearty endeavours thereunto, some good friend be a true glasse unto me, and reflect that by-past errour to my sight againe. I will owne the fault (if it be mine) and thanke him.

But if some passengers (in I know not what ship) saile by, until I their owne heads be giddy, they may as well say, that the Hils and Trees upon the shoare, as that I am moved. Whilst they are floating, I stand steady, wondring to what coast they are bound.

The question is, whether ever I professed my selfe for *Root and Branch*: that is the *Shibboleth* whereby some try whether you are for *Ruine* or for *Reforming*. Every one is not catechised in plaine tearmes as I was. *Art thou for us, or for our Adversaries?* So said one of the usuall black walkers in Westminster Hall. Another of our Parliament-pressing Ministers, after I had delivered my sence upon Episcopacy in the House, came to me and told me plainely, *That my conscience was not so good as in the beginning of the Parliament.* Yet I may (and doe) challenge him, or any man, to instance where, when, and what I have said to deserve this opinion of change.

Iosh. 5. 13. Mr. F. T. C.

I presse not this, as fondly glorying in a pertinacy. No, I professe my selfe ready and willing, at any time to imbrace a corrected understanding, let any of them (who hath temper, discretion and charity) come and try me. I have no end, no ayme to lead me, but faire truth, I have no byas but a conscience warmed with zeale, and therefore when I change, (if I change) it shall be the conquest and victory of truth upon me. And I then shall never bee ashamed of being wonne, but will glory in the change.

But

But I delivered in the Bill for abolition of Episcopacy. True, my friend (then next mee) urged me with importunacy that I would receive it, and plainely said it should goe in how ever and so (I am assured) it had, but not with so faint commendations as I bestowed on it, which (I dare say) gave no weight unto the worke. The Bill was then lesse then two sheets of paper, and by subjoyning two more might have given us the old originall Episcopacy, even with the same hand that abrogated the present. Beside, the chiefe end then was to expedite the progresse of another Bill against the seculer jurisdiction of the Bishops (at that very time) labouring in the House of Lords. So that this Bill did in my sense *Iniquum petere, ut æquum ferret.* S. A. H.

Little did I (or any man there) imagine, that those two sheets should be multiplied with addition of above fourty more, and yet unfinished.

The onely colour, or rather shadow whereupon some thought mee as fierce for *ruine* as themselves, was my fortune or misfortune, to strike first, (and shortly after, secondly) at the tallest Cedar on the Churches *Lebanon*. Tis true I did so, and am nothing sorry for the blow. His crimes were on my: the complaints were fresh with me, and my selfe (entrusted by that County where his Diocesse is seated) as fit as any to strike that stroke.

This was at that time received and applauded as an act of justice, but by the same men of late traduced, as relishing of personall malignity. *Non sic didici Christum.* I thanke God, my heart hath never yet knowne the swelling of a personall malice. And for the Bishop, I professe, I did (and doe) beare a good degree of personall love unto him, a love unto some parts and qualities, which I thinke him master off.

His intent of publike uniformity was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof he was extreamely faulty.

His booke lately set forth (especially for the latter halfe thereof) hath mused the Jesuite, and shall strike the Papists under the fifth ribbe, when hee is dead and gone. And being dead, whersoever his grave shall bee, *Paul's* will bee his perpetuall *monument*, and his owne booke his lasting *Epitaph*.

It is true, the roughnesse of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him: yet would he often (of himselfe) find wayes and meanes to sweeten many of them againe, when they least looked for it.

Lastly, hee was alway one and the same man; begin with him at *Oxford*, and so goe on to *Canterbury*, hee is un-mov'd, unchanged: hee never complied with the times, but kept his owne stand, untill the times came up to him.

Hee is not now in a condition to be flattered, nor was I ever so low, to use it. I did not accuse him for these. I struck another string, and that of so right a tune to them that are stung with the *Tarantula*, that I was instantly voyced, more as they would have mee, then I was. For (the truth is) I did not dreame, at that time of *extirpation* and abolition of any more then his Archiepiscopacy: our professed *rooters* themselves (many of them) at that houre had I perswade my selfe, more moderate hopes then since are entertained. *A severe Reformation* was a sweet song then, I am and ever was for that, and for no more.

Dr. W. It is objected that I goe counter to what I have publikely asserted in the House: have patience, and take a copy of what I have spoken in matter of Religion.

SECT. II.

Novemb. 10. 1640.

Mr. *Speaker*,

YEsterday the great affaires of this House did borrow all the time allotted to the great Committee for Religion. I am sorry that having but halfe a day in a whole weeke, we have lost that.

Mr. *Speaker*, It hath pleased God to put into the heart of his Majesty (for the Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord) once more to assemble us into a Senate, to consult upon the unhappy distractions, the sad dangers and the much feared ruines of this late flourishing Church and Kingdome. God be praised, both for his goodnesse, and for his severity whereby hee hath impelled this meeting; and humble thankes unto his Majesty, whose parentall care of us his Subjects, is willing to relieve us.

The sufferances that wee have undergone are reducible to two heads. The first concerning the *Church*: the second belonging to the *Common-wealth*. The first of these must have the first fruits of this Parliament, as being the first in weight and worth, and more immediate to the honour of God and his glory, every dramme whereof is worth the whole weight of a Kingdome.

The Common-wealth (it is true) is full of apparent dangers. The sword is come home unto us, and the two twin-Nations united together under one Royall head, brethren together in the bowels and the bosome of the same Island, and which is above all, imbanded together with the same Religion (I say the same Religion) by a Devillish machination, like to be fatally imbrued in each others blood, ready to dig each others grave, *Quantillum abfuit!*

For

For other grievances also, the poor disheartned Subject sadly groanes, not able to distinguish betwixt Power and Law: And with a weeping heart (no question) hath prayed for this houre, in hope to be relieved, and to know hereafter, whether any thing he hath, besides his poore part and portion of the Common ayre he breaths; may be truly called his owne.

These (Mr. *Speaker*) and many other doe deserve, and must shortly have our deepe regard, but *suo gradu*, not in the first place: There is a *unum necessarium* above all our worldly sufferances and dangers, Religion, the immediate service due unto the honour of Almighty God. And herein let us all bee confident, that all our consultations will prove unprosperous, if wee put any determination before that of Religion.

For my part, Let the Sword reach from the North to the South, and a generall perdition of all our remaining right and safety, the cause in open view, it shall bee so farre from making mee to decline the first setling of Religion, that I shall ever argue, and rather conclude it thus, The more great, the more imminent our perils of this World are, the stronger and quicker ought our care to bee for the glory of God and the pure Law of our soules.

If then (Mr. *Speaker*) it may passe with all allowance, that all our cares may give way unto the treaty of Religion, I will reduce that also to be considered unto two heads: first of Ecclesiastick persons, then of Ecclesiastick causes. Let no man start or bee affrighted at the imagined length of this consultation, it will not, it cannot take up so much time as it is worth. ——This, it is God and the King; this, is God and the Kingdome, nay, this is God and the two Kingdomes cause.

And therefore (Mr. *Speaker*) my humble motion is, that wee may all of us seriously, speedily, and heartily enter upon this, the best, the greatest, the most important cause wee can treat of.

Now (Mr. *Speaker*) in pursuite of my owne motion, and to make a little entrance into this great affaire, I will present unto you the petition of a poore oppressed Minister in the County of *Kent*. A man Orthodox in his Doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the Ministery as any wee have, or I doe know.

Hee is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the generall obloquy of a Puritan; (as with other things was excellently delivered by that silver trumpet at the Barre.) The Pursivant watches his doore, and divides him and his Cure asunder, to both their griefes: For if it is not with him as (perhaps) with some that set the Pursivant at worke, gladed of an excuse to bee out of their Pulpit, It is his delight to Preach. Sir *Ben. Rudyer.*

About

About a weeke since I went over to *Lambeth*, to move that great Bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from the Minister, and to recall the Pursivant: And withall, I did undertake for Master *Wilson* (for so your Petitioner is called) that hee should answer his accusers in any of the Kings Courts at *Westminster*.

The Bishop made mee answer (as neere as I can remember) *in hæc verba*, I am sure that hee will not bee absent from his Cure a twelve-moneth together, and then (I doubt not) but once in a yeare we shall have him.

This was all I could obtaine, but I hope, (by the helpe of this House) before this yeare of threats run round, *His Grace* will either have more *Grace*, or no *Grace* at all. For our manifold griefes doe fill a mighty and a vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow, doe lead unto him, and point at him the Center, from whence our miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-wealth doe flow.

Let the Petition bee read, and let us enter upon the worke.

WHat is here for *Root and Branch*? I can not find a line that I can wish unsaid: nor doe I read a letter, that I would goe lesse in. It is replied, that the Petitioner Mr. *Wilson*, is a man for *Root and Branch*; if hee bee, that was no part of his Petition, nor indeed any part of my knowledge then: I am no more obliged to answer herein, then I am bound to owne and defend Mr. *Wilson*, if hee should hereafter cast aside the Common-prayer, what were that to mee, or to what I then did say? sure I am, that I was well assured, that hee did not allow of separation then: and that hee had beene a powerfull perswader of others, not to withdraw from our publike service. And I thinke so well of his goodnesse, temper and conscience, that hee will not easily bee led away to these mistaking excesses.

SECT. III.

THe next is that which I spake in the grand Committee of the whole House for Religion, Mr. *White* holding that Chaire: whereof this is a copy.

23. *Novemb.* 1640.

Mr. *White*,

YOu have many private Petitions, give mee leave (by word of mouth) to interpose one more generall, which thus you may receive.

Gods

Gods tru: Religion is violently invaded by two seeming enemies: but indeed they are (like *Herod* and *Pilate*) fast friends for the destruction of truth. I mean the papists for one party, and our prelating faction for the other. Between these two in their severall progresse, I observe the concurrence of some few parallels, fit (as I conceive) to be represented to this Honourable House.

First, with the papists there is a severe *Inquisition*: and with us (as it is used) there is a bitter high *Commission*; both these (*contra fas & jus*) are Judges in their own cause: yet herein their *Inquisitors* are better then our *High-Commissioners*——They (for ought ever I heard) do not (*savire in suos*) punish for delinquents and offenders such as professe and practice according to the Religion established by the Laws of the Land where they live.

But with us how many poor distressed Ministers, nay, how many scores of them, in a few yeers past, have been suspended, degraded, deprived, excommunicated, not guilty of the breach of any our established Laws. The petitions of many are here with us, more are coming: all their prayers are in Heaven for redresse.

Secondly, with the papists, there is a mysterious artifice, I mean their *Index expurgatorius*, whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses, whose evidence they do not like.——To this I parallell our late *Imprimaturs*, Licenses for the presse: so handled, that truth is suppresst, and popish pamphlets fly abroad *cum privilegio*; witnesse the audacious and libelling pamphlets against true Religion, written by *Pocklington*, *Heylin*, *Dow*, *Cosins*, *Shelford*, *Swan*, *Reeves*, *Yates*, *Hausted*, *Studley*, *Sparrow*, *Brown*, *Roberts*.——Many more: I name no Bishops, but I adde, &c.

Nay they are already grown so bold in this new trade, that the most learned labourers of our ancient best Divines must be new corrected, and defaced with a *Deleatur* by the supercilious pen of my Lords young Chaplain (fit perhaps) for the technicall arts, but unfit to hold the Chair for Divinity.

But herein the *Roman Index* is better then are our *English Licenses*; They thereby do preserve the current of their own established Doctrine, a point of wisedom; but with us our *Innovators* by this artifice do alter our setled Doctrines; Nay, they do subinduce points repugnant and contrariant. And this I dare assume upon my self to prove.

One parallell more I have, and that is this: Among the papists, there is one acknowledged Supreme pope, Supreme in honour, in order, and in power; from whose Judgement there is no appeal.——I confesse

(M. *Speaker*) I cannot altogether match a pope with a pope (yet one of the ancient titles of our English primate was *Alterius orbis Papa.*) But thus farre I can go, *Exore suo.* It is in print,——He pleads fair for a Patriarchate; and for such an one whose judgement he (before-hand) professeth ought to be finall: and then (I am sure) it ought to be un-erring.

Put these together, and you shall finde that the finall determination of a Patriarch will want very little of a pope,——and then we may say

——*Mutato nomine de te*

Fabula narratur——

He pleads popeship under the name of a *Patriarch*. And I much fear lest the end and top of his patriarchall plea may be as that of Cardinall *Pool* (his predecessour) who would have two heads, one *Caput Regale*, another *Caput Sacerdotale*: a proud parallell, to set up the Miter as high as the Crown.

But herein I shall be free and clear, if one there must be, be it a pope, be it a patriarch, this I resolve upon for my own choyce (*Procul a Jove procul a fulmine.*) I had rather serve one as farre off as *Tyber*, then to have him come so neer me as the *Thames*. A pope at *Rome* will do me lesse hurt then a patriarch at *Lambeth*.

I have done, and for this third parallell I submit it to the wisedome and consideration of this grand Committee for religion, in the mean time I do ground my motion upon the former two, and it is this in brief;

That you would please to select a subcommittee of a few, and to impower them for the discovery of the numbers of oppressed Ministers under the Bishops tyranny for these ten yeers last past. We have the complaint of some, but more are silent: some are patient and will not complain, others are fearfull and dare not, many are beyond Sea, and cannot complain.

And in the second place, That the sub-Committee may examin the Printers what books by bad Licenses have been corruptly issued forth; and what good books have been (like good Ministers) silenced, clipped or cropped.

The work I conceive will not be difficult, but will quickly return into your hand full of weight.

And this is my motion.

What is here for *Rots and Branch?* But I must search further, although for that, which (I am sure) cannot be found.

SECT.

Sect. IV.

I Come now to the likelieſt tryall wherein to finde my ſelf guilty. A petition was brought unto me out of *Kent in terminis terminantibus*, as that (from many Citizens of *London*) which is in print. This indeed if it were not the *Spawn of the London petition*, yet finding it a Parrat taught to ſpeak the ſyllables of that, and by roat calling for *Root and Branch*, I dealt with the preſenters thereof, and with other parties thereunto, untill (with their conſents) I reduced it to leſſe then a quarter of it former length, and taught it a new and more modeſt language, upon delivery of this petition thus I prefaced.

January 13. 1640.

Mr. *Speaker*,

YEſterday we did regulate the moſt important buſineſſe before us, and gave them motion, ſo that our weighty affairs, are now on their feet in their progreſſe, journying on towards their ſeverall periods, where ſome I hope will ſhortly finde their lateſt home.

Yet among all theſe I obſerve one, a very main one, to ſleep *ſine die*, give me leave to awaken it; It is a buſineſſe of an immenſe weight, and worth; ſuch as deſerves our beſt care, and moſt ſevere circumſpection. I mean the grand petition long ſince given in by many thouſand Citizens againſt the Domineering of the Clergy.

Wherein (for my part) although I cannot approve of all that is preſented unto you, yet I do clearly profeſſe, that a great part of it, nay the greateſt part thereof, is ſo well grounded, that my heart goes cheerfully along therewith.

It ſeems that my Country (for which I have the honour to ſerve) is of the ſame minde, and leaſt that you ſhould think that all faults are included within the walls of *Troy*, they will ſhew you

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The ſame grievances which the City groans under, are provinciall unto us, and I much fear they are nationall among us all.

The Pride, the Avarice, the Ambition and Oppreſſion, by our ill ruling Clergy is *Epidemicall*, it hath infected them all. There is not any, or ſcarce any of them, who is not practicall in their own *great cauſe in hand*, which they impiouſly do miſcall, *the piety of the times*, but in truth, ſo wrong a Piety, that I am bold to ſay.

In facinus jurasse putes.——

Here in this Petition is the Diſeaſe repreſented, here is the Cure intreated.

The number of your Petitioners is conſiderable, being above five and twenty hundred names, and would have been four times as many, if that were thought materiall.

The matter in the Petition is of high import: but your Petitioners themſelves are all of them quiet and ſilent at their own houſes, humbly expecting and praying the reſolution of this great *Senate*, upon theſe their earneſt and their hearty deſires.

Here is no noyſe, no numbers at your door; they will be neither your trouble, nor your jealouſie; for I do not know of any one of them this day in the Town; So much they do affie in the goodneſſe of their Petion, and the juſtice of in this Houſe.

If now you want any of them here, to make avowance of their Petition, I am their ſervant. I do appear for them and for my ſelf, and am ready to avow this Petition, in their names, and in mine own.

Nothing doubting, but fully confident, that I may juſtly ſay of the preſent uſage of the Hierarchy in the Church of *England*, as once the pope (pope *Adrian* as I remember) ſaid of the Clergy in his time: *A vertice capitis ad plantam pedis, nihil eſt ſanum in toto ordine eccleſiaſtico.*

I beſeech you reade the Petition, regard us and releeve us.

The Petition it ſelf ſpeaks thus:

To the Honourable the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

The humble Petition of many the Inhabitants within His Majeſties County of *Kent*.

Moſt humbly ſhewing, That by ſad experience we do daily finde the Government in the Church of England, *by Archbiſhops, Lord-Biſhops, Deans, and Archdeacons, with their Courts, Juriſdictions, and Adminiſtrations, by them and their inferiour Officers, to be very dangerous, both to the Church and Common-wealth, and to be the occaſion of manifold grievances unto His Majeſties Subjects in their conſciences, liberties, and eſtates, and likely to be fatall unto us in the continuance thereof. The*

dangerous

dangerous effects of which Lordly power in them, have appeared in these particulars following.

1. They do with a hard hand over-rule all other Ministers, subjecting them to their cruell authority.

2. They do suspend, punish, and deprive many godly, religious, and painfull Ministers, upon slight and upon no grounds: whilst in the mean time, few of them do preach the Word of God themselves, and that but seldome. But they do restrain the painfull preaching of others, both for Lectures, and for afternoon Sermons on the Sabbath day.

3. They do countenance, and have of late encouraged Papists, Priests, and Arminian both Books and persons.

4. They hinder good and godly Books to be Printed; yet they do Licence to be published, many Popish, Armenian, and other dangerous Tenents.

5. They have deformed our Churches, with Popish Pictures and suited them with Romish Altars.

6. They have of late extolled and commended much the Church of Rome, denying the Pope to be Antichrist; affirming the Church of Rome to be a true Church in fundamentals.

7. They have practised and inforced antiquated and obsolete Ceremonies, as standing at the Hymnes at Gloria Patri, and turning to the East at severall parts of the Divine Service, bowing to the Altar, which they tearm the place of Gods residence upon earth: the reading of a second service at the Altar, and denying the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to such as have not come up to a new set Rail before the Altar.

8. They have made and contrived illegall Canons and Constitutions, and framed a most pernitious and desperate Oath: an Oath of covenant and confederacy for their own Hierarchicall greatnesse, besides many other dangerous and pernitious passages in the said Canons.

9. They do dispence plurality of Benefices: they do both prohibit and grant Marriages, neither of them by the rule of Law or Conscience, but do prohibite that they may grant, and grant that they may have money.

10. They have procured a licentious liberty for the Lords-Day, but have pressed the strict observation of Saints-Holidates, and do punish, suspend, degrade, deprive godly Ministers for not publishing a Book for liberty of sports on the Sabbath-day.

11. They do generally abuse the great Ordinance of Excommunication, making sometimes a gain of it, to the great discomfort of many poor souls, who for want of money can get no absolution.

12. They claim their Office and jurisdiction to be jure divino, and do

exercise the same (contrary to Law) in their own names, and under their own Seals.

13. They receive and take upon them Temporall honours, dignities, places, and offices in the Common-wealth, as if it were lawfull for them to use both Swords.

14. They take cognizance in their Courts and elsewhere of matters determinable at common Law.

15. They put Ministers upon Parishes, without the Patron, and without the peoples consent.

16. They do yeerly impose oaths upon Church-wardens, to the most apparent danger of filling the Land with perjury.

17. They do exercise oaths ex officio in the nature of an Inquisition, even into the thoughts of men.

18. They have apprehended men by Pursuivants without citation or misseves first sent: They break up mens houses and Studies, taking away what they please.

19. They do awe the Judges of the Land with their greatnesse, to the inhibition of prohibitions, and hindering of Habeas Corpus when it is due.

20. They are strongly suspected to be confederate with the Roman party in this Land, and with them to be authors, contrivers, or consenters to the present commotions in the North; and the rather, because of a contribution by the Clergy, and by the Papists in the last yeer, 1639; and because of an ill named benevolence of six Subsidies, granted, or intended to be granted this present present yeer 1640, thereby, and with these moneyes to engage (as much as in them lay) the two Nations into blood.

It is therefore humbly and earnestly prayed, That this Hierarchicall power may be totally abrogated, if the wisedome of this Honorable House shall finde that it cannot be maintained by Gods Word, and to his Glory.

And we your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Sect. V.

Upon occasion of what I said of the late Canons, I might easily have pressed the abolition of the Founders, and of the whole order of prelacy: And surely, if it had been my wish, I would (as others) have so expresst my self. Here follows my argument against these Canons, and that chiefly aimed against the Founders of them; yet nothing of *Root and Branch*.

14 *Decemb.* 1640.

M. Speaker,

THat the late Canons are invalidous, it will eesily appear, and that they are so originally in the foundation, or rather in the founders of them, I will assume upon my self to demonstrate, having first intimated my sense by way of preparative.

The Pope (as they say) hath a triple Crown; answerable thereunto, and to support that he pretends to have a three-fold Law: the first is, *jus divinum, Episcopacy by divine Right*; and this he would have you think to be the Coronet next his head, that which doth circle and secure his power. Our Bishops have (in an unlucky time) entred their plea, and pretended title to this Crown, *Episcopacy by divine Right.*

The second is *Jus humanum, Constantines* donation, the gift of indulgent Princes; temporall power. This Law belongs to his second, of his middle Crown; already also pleaded for by our prelates in print.

These two Crowns being obtained, he (the pope) doth frame and make his third Crown himself, and sets that upmost, upon the top—— This Crown also hath its Law, and that is *Jus canonicum*, the Canon-Law, of more use unto his popeship then both the other.—— Just so our prelates, from the pretended divinity of their Episcopacy, and from the temporall power granted by our Princes, they would now obtrude a new *Canon-Law* upon us.

They have charged their *Canons* at us to the full; and never fearing that ever they would recoyl back into a Parliament, they have rammed a prodigious ungodly oath into them.

The illegality and invalidity of these Canons (as I conceive) is easily discoverable by one short question, *viz.* What do you call the meetings wherein they were made? give it a name to know it by: who can frame his argument aright, unless he can first tell against what he is to argue? would you confute the *Convocation?* they were a *holy Synod*: would you argue against the *Synod?* why they were *Commissioners*: would you dispute the *Commission?* they will mingle all powers together, and answer that they were some fourth thing, that we neither know nor imagine.

Quo teneam modo mutantem Protea? unless they will unriddle themselves, and own what they were, we may prosecute, but hardly with concludent arguments. Yet I venture.

I have

I have conferred with ſome of the founders of theſe new Canons, but I profeſſe clearly, That I could never yet meet with any one of that aſſembly, who could (in behalf of their meeting) well anſwer me the firſt queſtion in the Catechiſe, What is your name? Alas they are parted, before they know what they were when they were together.

The ſum of the ſeverall anſwers that I have received, doth amount to this; They were a *Convocationall--Synodicall--Aſſembly of Commiſſioners*, indeed a three-fold *Chimæra*, a monſter to our Laws, a *Cerberus* to our Religion.

A ſtrange *Commiſſion* wherein no one Commiſſioners name is to be found. A ſtrange Convocation that lived when the Parliament was dead: A ſtrange *holy Synod* where one part never ſaw, never conferred with the other.—But indeed what need or uſe of conference, if that be true of theſe Canons, which I read of the former ones, *Notum eſt Canones formari Lambethæ, priuſquàm in Synodo ventilentur.* *Parker Polit.*

Thus farre preparatory; I proceed to my argument, whereby to manifeſt the invalidity of theſe Canons, not borrowing, but avoiding what hath formerly been inſtanced by others.

I will neither inveigh upon them as unnamed *Commiſſioners*, nor infirm them the work of a dead *Convocation*; But will take them in the capacity of their own affected title of a *Synod*. Such they bragged themſelves to be whilſt they ſate: ſuch they ſtile themſelves in the Title page of theſe (never to be canonized) Canons.—The words are—*Canons treated upon in Convocation--agreed upon in Synod.*

This treating in one capacity, and agreeing in another, is a new mould to caſt Canons in, never uſed before. Canons bred in a Convocation, born in a Synod. Thus although we finde not one good father, here are yet two mothers to one ill-favoured childe; never known before, nor imagined but of *Bacchus*, whom the Poets call among other attributes,

—*Sulung; bimatrem.*

I proceed: if their meeting be a Synod, either it is ſo by *Donation*, by *Election*, or only by *Uſurpation*.

Donation from the King: is this title and authority indulged to them by His Majeſty? Look thorow all His Highneſſe Letters-Patent, and they are not once ſaluted with the ambitious title of a *Synod*. Yet in the Canons they have aſſumed it ſeventeen times, it is their own pride, their own preſumption.

The King hath not done it (pardon me) no Prince ever did it, or can do it; no power Regall, Imperiall, or Papall did ever attempt it to ordain

dain that *William* and *Richard*, *Matthew* and *John*, &c. and I know not who more, being met and assembled upon other summons shall by a *Commission* be on a sudden translated from what they were, into an unthought of *National Synod*, without voyce or choyce of any man to be concerned: this never was done, this can be never well done.

As for due election of such meetings, this indeed is, or ought to be of the true *esse* to a legitimate *Synod*. But due election made up by voyces is so much a stranger to this *Synod*, that their fatherhoods will confesse that they were never trusted to this *Synod*, as a *Synod* by any, either of the Clergy or of the Laity.

Concerning the choise of a few of them, and but a few (about 50, as I guesse) chosen to the Convocation-house, that choice will never render them a lawfull *Synod*, untill they can prove *metamorphosis* and *Transubstantiation*. For the voices of all their choosers upon expiration of the Convocation-house returned back home to every mans bosome from whence they breathed. So that if you will enlive the same men to be now *Synodall*, who were before Convocationall, you must renew the old *Pythagorean Transmigration*, for they want the breath and life of an *election*. A new one you have not, and the old one is not to be had, but by *μετεμψύχωσιν*.

Besides I do affirm and shall approve, That the Electors to a Convocation, and to a Synod are not all one. The Clergy only do, and of right only ought to choose unto the Convocation-house. The reason, we of the Laity (so they will call us) have our House of Commons; where our Trustees, by vertue of our voyces, do sit at the same time. But in the choice unto a Synod, we who must be bound by the determinations of the *Synod*, ought also to be interested in the parties determining. This is clear enough in reason, and will be better cleared presently.

Of Synods, I finde five severall sorts: First a generall or universall Synod: secondly, Patriarchichal: thirdly, Nationall: fourthly, Provinciall: fifthly, a Diocesan Synod. I passe by the two first and last, as not pertinent to this time and affair. Concerning Provinciall and Nationall Synods a word or two; if I knew which to call their late meeting. They run on riddles: and I want an *Oedipus* at every turn.

These *Canons*, were they forged in one Synod *National*, or in two *Provinciall*? were they two provinciall Synods? how then come their Acts and Canons to be embodied together? how comes it to passe that all the Canons speak in the singular number? The *Synod*. *The holy Synod*, *The sacred Synod* Sacred will now be hardly granted, unlesse as the poet doth--- *Auri sacra fames*.

Was it then but one? Was it a *Nationall Synod*? Why the Provinces (we all know) never did convene; they never met together. Look on the representative body of the Commons of this whole Land; every one within the same walls hearing every ones argument, and thereupon mending, altering, (and as occasion is) correcting his own judgement; and afterwards, (ὁμοθυμαδὸν) joyning in unanimous consent. And if the able members of the North beyond *Trent* were divided from the rest, there would be quickly found a want of their worth and weight, nor could their sitting at the same time at *York*, make the rest a House of Commons here, for the whole Kingdom must be represented entire.

But as we have done the Title *Synod*, so let us give them the attribute Nationall, a *Nationall Synod*, and yet see how inconsistent and invalidous they are.

The very *esse* of every Synod doth subsist in a double foundation. *Fundamentum materiale* and *fundamentum formale*. The due materials of a *Synod* are the interiour qualities and indowments of the persons, whereof the *Synod* consisteth, not their externall dignities and promotions. And therefore every man thus qualified, is as capable to be of the *Synod*, as any *Deacon* or *Archdeacon* of them all.

The *fundamentum formale*, is *Delegatio ab ecclesia & debita electio*. A due choice to be made by all that are or shall be concerned in the determinations of the *Synod*: and this trust of choice may fall upon another man, as well and as soon as upon *Dean* or *Archdeacon*.

I will not quarrell the want of able parts in any members of that late doubtfull dangerous meeting: I grant them the materials of a true *Synod*, but will insist onely upon the second, want of form, want of due election: which if they want, the most virtuall and most obliging tie, and the most binding part is wanting.

That they had no such election, we need not go forth to prove; No one man in the Kingdom can say that he gave a voice to the election of any one *Dean* or *Archdeacon* to sit for him in that *Synod*, nor were the Clerks chosen by all who were to be bound. So then there remaineth only to be proved this. That such election of persons, by all persons to be concerned in the Decrees, and Canons, is necessary to the constituting of a lawfull Synod; which is all one as to say, that the elections to a *Synod* ought to be, both by the Clergie and the Laity.

M. *Speaker*, I will trouble you but with one reason, and a very few instances, all briefly.

The Acts and Canons of every lawfull Nationall Councell or Synod, ought to binde the whole Nation, both Laity and Clergie; But this cannot

not be reasonable and just; if the Laity be excluded both from consultation, and from choice of consulters. The reason is plain. It is a ground in nature, and so confessed upon this very case by Dr. *Field*, who hath it out of *Occam*--*quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. And this is so cleer a Maxim, that in this very sense also; for the Laity to be present at Councels, this very *Aphorisme* is used by the Pope in his own glosse upon the Canonist *Gratian*. *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. Surely our Clergy are much too high, if herein they would outgo the very Canons of the Papall Synods, and conclude that which shall binde all, where all are not admitted to treat, neither by themselves nor by proxy.

Now the benefit of this Law of nature, and of reason (as Dr. *Field* calleth it) we claim. The present *Canons* do concern us. I may be a Church-warden, my son may be a Master of Art; then must I present upon their yet unborn articles, and he must swear their oath of Covenant --Well, they were never trusted by us unto a Synod, and therefore ought not to tye us up unheard, it is against *Nature* and *Reason*.

To second this Argument by instance in proof of practise, I shall praduce a few, and but a few of many examples and authorities: the originals I cannot now command, but must be content to name a few extracts, which by way of transcript do walk along with my *vade mecum*.

The point that I would establish is this, that in *Synods* and Councels, where Lay men are concerned in the Decrees, there the Laity may be present to consult, if not also to decide the conclusions. I will but point, I will not enlarge to the vouching of every place *verbatim*; Dr. *Field*, Dr. *Fulk*, *Goulartius*, are cleer and positive in this point.

Our Statutes, for correcting and gathering together the former *Canons* into a new body, do cleerly evidence this unto us; in all which there is an equall proportion mixed, sixteen of the Clergy, and as many of the Laity.

The Author of the History of *Trent* is frequent in this point, adding this for a reason, that in a *generall Councel*, the universall Church cannot be represented, if the Laity be excluded. So by the Rule *à paribus*. The reason holdeth the same, a *Nationall Councel* cannot represent a Nation, if but one degree of men, men of one quality and capacity be only present, and the rest altogether excluded.

Gratian, the Canonist, doth allow the Laity to be present, especially in such Councels as doe treat of faith, and for proofe doth vouch Pope *Nicholas*.

I will omit many proofs of many Emperors being personally present and president in many Councels, by themselves, and sometimes by their Vice-gerents, as *Marcellinus*, *Candidianus*, *Martianus*, &c. yet even this argumentative for us, and a preservative of our right, for the Laity to be present.

The Greek Historians are so plentifull, that I will only name them. *Theodoret. l. 5. c. 9. Eusebius de vita Constantin. l. 3. c. 9 & 10. Sozomen. l. 1. c. 16 & 17. Niceph. Callistus, l. 8. c. 15. Socrates, l. 1. c. 5 & l. 6. c. 2. Evagrius Scholast. l. 2. c. 4. c. 27.* Among the Latine Fathers, *Cyprian* is very plentifull.

As for Councels, look;

Nice, c. vouched by *Eusebius de vita Constantini*—4 conc. *Carthag.* cited by *Gratian*—The Councell of *Eliberis* in Spain. Councell of *Constantinople* in *Theodoret*—Councell of *Constance*; And the second of *Nice*—where it is said of the Imperiall Lady, the famous *Pulcheria Augusta*, That *ipsa per semetipsam in sanctâ quartâ Synodo sedit*; which fourth Synod was with *Martianus* the Emperour.

To these I adde the very *Ordo celebrandi concilia*, written by *Isidore*, and like unto the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*.

Thus much for humane testimony. I have done with my hasty notes, onely I adde this, and I beseech you to intend it.

Whilst we of the Laity had our power and voices to choose our own Ministers, and our own Bishops (which was our ancient right, constantly allowed and practised in the best primitive times, whereof the proofs are yet evident enough) so long (I say) we might trust them in a Synod, whom we first had trusted to direct and guide our souls in all the Ministeriall Function.—But to conclude us up now, and shut us out contrary to the Law of *Nature* and *Reason*, contrary to ancient usages: not to admit us to determination, nay to exclude us from consultation, and after all, to take from us all assent, both in choice, and in refusall of Pastors to be set over us, and yet to binde us by Decrees so made, may prove (I fear) no lesse then foul tyranny. I do not presse the deserved right of our choyce of pastors: but one thing more, lend me patience to adde as a supreme *Corona* to all that I have said for right of Laity in Synods.

Look, I beseech you, in the first Synod that ever was held in the Christian Church, and that for so great and singular a cause, as never was occasion for the like in the world before or since: you have it in the first of the *Acts* of the holy Apostles, and it is for the choyce of a new Apostle. There were in this Synod, and of this Synod, the eleven Apostles

stles, *Acts* 1.13. *With the brethren of the Lord, verse* 14. There were *the Disciples*, there was *Turba* ὄχλος a multitude of *about* 120 *names, verse* 15. S. *Peter* tels them that out of that number *one must be ordained to be a witnesse of the resurrection* of our Savior; thereupon what doth the multitude of Disciples there present? Ἔστησαν δύω *verse* 23. *they place, or set two before the Apostles*: And the same men, *viz.* all the Disciples *verse* 26. Ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, *they gave forth their lots*, and thereupon, the lot falling upon *Matthias*, he *was numbred* (saith our translation) *with the eleven Apostles*; but the originall is more συγκατεψηφίσθη *communibus calculis annumeratus est*, he was by common assent, or by common voyces reckoned with the eleven. Now who were these common voyces? who were these 120 men? Evangelists, Bishops, Deacons, and Presbyters or Elders, as yet there was not one in all the world, the Apostles were but eleven, perhaps not numbred in this 120. The Disciples if you will say that they were there, yet they were but 70. So that here is no evasion: the Laity were present, and not passive only, they were active in this originall, so weighty a *Synod*.

My second instance in this kind, is out of the second Councel that ever we read was held, and this is *Acts* 6. where the Apostles call a Councell for the choyce of seven Deacons. Then the twelve *called the multitude of the disciples to them*, *Verse* 2. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν. They being assembled, do not say, We have decreed, We have ordered and ordained, and enjoyned, but their language is, *Verse* 3. Ἐπισκέψασθαι δέλφοι, *brethren look ye out*, the word is the same as ἐπίσκοπος, both from ἐπισκοπεῖν, to over-see, Do you oversee among you seven men of honest report. And *the saying* (as it is *verse* 5) *pleased* ἔνωπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους, *the whole multitude*, there is a consent of theirs, more plain in ἐξελέξαντο they *the multitude, chose seven, Stephen and Philip*, &c. Οὓς ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων. whom they (still the *multitude* τὸ πλῆθος) *verse* 6. did set or place before the Apostles.

The third and the last shall be the πανκαθόλικον, the great and generall Councell held by the Apos upon the dissention of the Church in point of Circumcision (and that is *Act.* 15.) there you shal again find present, πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, *v.* 12. *All the multitude*: but you will say and object that the next word is ἐσίγησε, *the multitude kept silence*. True, *ergo* what? therefore they spake not at all in this Councell? nothing lesse. But *ergo* they had spoken before: for it is plain by the word, THEN, *Then all the multitude kept silence*. If they had nothing there to do, but to be alwayes silent, this particle of time, *Then*, might well have been spared. This may perhaps be objected, & therefore ought to be prevented, for

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the further clearing whereof, observe (I pray) the next *verse* 13. where in like manner, it is said of *Paul* and *Barnabas* παυσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ. *And after they held their peace, Ergo* they had spoken. And therefore the Frier, who collected together a body of Councels (*Peter Crab the German*) doth even from this place infer a consent of the people, saying, *Tacuit omnis multitudo consentiens Petro.*

But if you would have this more clearly evidenced beyond all exceptions, I pray take notice of the resolution of this *Synod*, *verse* 22. *Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church.* With the whole Church, what is that? The blessed Apostles and their fellow-labourers did not engrosse, and (as our Church-men affect to do) usurp and monopolize the word Church, as proper only to Church-men.—No you shall find it even in the *Epigraphe* of the Canons and Decrees of this true, holy, and sacred *Synod*, that the despised Laity are in these Canons conjoyned with the blessed Apostles, although Pope and Patriarch, Primate and Metropolitan, Archbishop and Bishops, yea even downe to Deane and Archdeacon, (I have heard it) doe despise the thought of admitting the Laity: I do not say to decision, but even to Consultation, nay to the very choyce of consulters in Religion: nay lower even so much as to have a negative power, when a man of inability, and of ill life is obtained upon them; I proceed, for I would not *orare*, but *probare*, look *verse* 23. They that were present had voyce, they who voyced the *Canons*, joyned in the decree, and sending the decree unto *Antioch*. The words are thus, *The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren send greeting to the Brethren which are in Antioch, &c.* Here the *Brethren at Hierusalem* (are with the *Apostles* and the *Elders*) actors in, and authors of the *Canons* in this Councell agreed. There is no evasion, no elusion to be had, unlesse you can prove that all the *Brethren* in *Antioch* to whom these *Brethren* in *Hierusalem* did write, were only Clergy men.

Which if you should affirme, our Clergy will hardly be pleased with you, for they must then be of the *multitude* (not a special lot) for *Barnabas* and *Paul* did deliver this Epistle (being the decree of this Synod) to *the multitude* τὸ πλῆθος as it is found in the 30. *verse*, *and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the Epistle.*

Thus much in way of pursuit for this one argument, that no Canons can bind the Laity, where we have no voyce of our owne, nor choyce of the Clergy persons who doe found them, nor assent in the susception of them after they are framed. *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet.*

Mr. Speaker, It remaines as a wish, that every member of that meeting,

ting, who voted these exorbitant Canons, should come severally to the Barre of the Parliament House, with a Canon booke in his hand, and there unlesse he can answer his *Catechisme* (as I called it;) and shew what is the name of their meeting, (and unlesse he can manifest that the Laity are no part of the Church) *Conceptis verbis* in such expresse termes as that House shall thinke fit, to objure his own ill-begotten issue, or else bee commanded to give fire to his owne Canons.

SECT. VI.

VPon my motion *November* 23 it pleased the grand Committee for Religion, to appoint a Subcommittee, to recieve complaints from oppressed Ministers, which Subcommittee was shortly after made a Committee by order of the House. It pleased the Gentlemen of this Committee to put the honour and the burden of the chaire upon mee: from hence severall Reports have beene delivered in, I shall onely trouble the Reader with the first of them.

18. *December.* 1640.

Mr. *White*,

THis grand Committee for Religion did authorize a Sub-committee (among other things) to take into consideration, the unjust sufferings of good Ministers oppressed by the cruell-used authority of Hierarchicall Rulers.

In this (and in other points) we have entred upon many particulars we have matured and perfected but one. If we had lesse worke, you should (before this time) have had more: but complaints crowd in so fast upon us, that the very plenty of them retards their issue.

The present Report which I am to make unto you is concerning Mr. *Wilkinson*, a Batchellor in Divinity, and a man in whose character doe concurre Learning, Piety, Industry, Modesty.

Two hardships have been put upon him: one at the time when hee presented himselfe to receive orders: and that was thus.

The Bishop of *Oxfords* Chaplein (*Mr. Fulthame*) being the examiner (for Bishops now scorn to do Bishops work: it belongs to himselfe) hee propoundeth foure questions to *Mr. Wilkinson*, not taken out of the depth of Divinity, but fitly chosen to discover how affections dos stand to be novellized by the mutability of the present times.

The Questions were these.

1 *Whether hath the Church authority in matters of faith?*

2. *May the Kings booke of sports,* (so some impious Bishops have abused our pious King, to call their contrivance His Majesties booke) *may this bee read in the Church without offence?*

3. *Is*

3. *To bowing to or before the Altar lawfull?*
4. *Is bowing at the Name of Jesus lawfull?*

The Doctrine of the first affirmed, will bring a dangerous influence upon our belief, by subjecting our faith to humane resolutions. The other three are disciplinarian in the present way of Novellism.

As soon as Mr *Wilkinson* heard these questions, *Lupum auribus*, he had a Wolf by the ears. And because unto these captious interrogatories, he could not make a peremptory answer, Mr *Fulham* would not present your petitioner to the Bishop for Ordination.

Thus you see (M. *White*) a new way of Simony: Imposition of hands is to be sold, if not for mony, yet to make a side, a party, a faction. They will not confer Orders, but upon such as will come in and make party with them in their new practices, as is evident by these questions: take this, in this kind, as a leading case, a first complaint, more are coming, and M. *Wilkinson* shall have the poor common comfort.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse.——

I proceed to his second sufferance, which was by the Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, for a Sermon preached in his course at S. *Maries* in *Oxford*. Short to make, he preached better then they were willing to hear: the Sermon fell into the ears of a captious auditor. For this Sermon, he stands now suspended by the Vice-chancellour from all the spirituall promotion that he had, which was onely the reading of a Divinity Lecture in *Magdalen-hall*.

The Committee required the Vice-chancellor to send unto us the Sermon, with his exceptions in writing. They were brought, and being received, they are three in number, great and weighty in the accusation, none at all in proof. Nay (M. *White*) there is nothing presented unto us, wherein to finde a colour or shadow whereby to make the accusation semblable, and consequently the suspension just. *Ecquis innocens erit, si accusare sufficerit?*

The particulars insisted upon, pickt and chosen out of that Sermon by the Vice-chancellor, are three: every one a haynous charge, and the first sounding little lesse then treason. Give me leave to reade them, as M. Vice-chancellor hath sent them in writing.

1. *Our Religious Soveraign, and his pious Government, as seditiously defamed, as if His Majesty were little better then the old Pagan persecuters, or then Queen* Mary.

2. *The Government of the Church and University is unjustly traduced.*

3. *Men of learning and piety, conformable to the publike Government, are uncharitably slandered.*

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The leaſt of theſe being duly proved, will make him worthy of ſuſpenſion: but if Mr. *Wilkinſon* be guilty of the firſt, he is not worthy to live. The truth is, the Vice-chancellour hath learned *audacter criminare*: and failing in proof, hath only fouled himſelf. Your Sub-committee, upon due conſideration of the cauſe and circumſtance, have hereupon unanimouſly voted, that Mr. *Wilkinſon* is free from all and every of theſe exceptions, made againſt his Sermon by the Vice-chancellour. We are all of opinion that there is nothing therein that deſerves *Notam cenſoris, nedum lituram judicis.*

If (Mr. *White*) there be in a Sermon (as there ought to be *aliquid mordacis veritatis*, ſhall the Preacher be for this ſuſpended? His mouth ſhut up for preaching truth boldly? It is contrary to their commiſſion, for (*Sir*) they have a great Charter to ſpeak freely: it is warranted unto them *Jure divino*. St. *Paul* doth own it, in his inſtruction of *Timothy*, The words are, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, preach the word, be inſtant in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon; reprove, rebuke, exhort* 2 Tim. 4, 1, 2, 3.
——— *For the time will come when they will not indure ſound doctrine.* Here is our caſe exactly. Here was reproof; here was exhortation; here was preaching out of ſeaſon, to unwilling or to unprepared hearers: and yet in ſeaſon, the Theame was neceſſary, and fitted to their want of zeal: But the only fault was, that *the time is come when ſound Doctrine will not be indured.*

Thus the Committee found it: thus have I faithfully, but imperfectly, reported it, and do now ſubjoyn the opinion and requeſt of your Truſtees to this grand Committee.

Mr. *Wilkinſon* is innocent and free from this accuſation. He had juſt cauſe to petition. The Vice-chancellour hath been without cauſe, nay againſt cauſe, ridged and oppreſſive. The Sermon deſerved thanks. The preacher received injuries. His ſuſpenſion to be taken off: The retracting and diſſolving whereof ought to be as publick as was the inflicting thereof.

One word more I ask leave to add, and I hope I ſhall not therein erre from the ſence of the Committee, though indeed I received it not in command to be joyned to the Report. This buſineſſe, Maſter *White*, is ſpread into a wide and ample notice: two great Primats have appeared in it, and that with different, perhaps contrariant ſences, ſences as diſtant as *Lambeth* and *Armagh*. The Vice-chancellour ſaith, that *the Preacher was cenſured by the moſt Reverend Lord Primate of Ireland, who heard him, to be a bold or raſh fellow for it.* Hereupon I attended that learned, pious, and painful Primate, and did read theſe words of the Vice-chancellour unto him. His anſwer was, that he takes it as an *Aſperſion*

upon him, He remembers the Sermon, and commends it.

This is an additional to the Report, and with this I leave Mr. Vice-chancellour, and the Bishops Chaplen (*Fulham*) to the wisdom and consideration of this grand Committee.

Sect. VII.

MY next walk was in a hazardous way, and although it was not so lodg'd in my memory, as that in due season I could make use of it (as I intended) publickly in the House; yet being since gone forth without my appointment, into print, I do now own it for my sence, until I be better instructed, as I was promised long since, by a Cathedral friend of mine, but do now despair to see performed.

Ir. D. of C.

The Theam is, that secular jurisdiction ought not to be held by such as are of the Clergie function. Βασιλεῖς ἐβασιλεύσαν, &c. *They reigned to themselves* (saith the Lord) *and not by me: they have been Princes, and I know it not.*

Hos. 8. 4.

The words of that short passage were these.

OUr Lord and Saviour (blessed for ever) being indeed a King, *Pilate* (his Judge) seemeth to start, and be in fear at that great Title: Although our Saviour had told him saying, [a] *My kingdom is not of this world. Pilate* (still in fear) [b] *sought to release him*, but more in fear of *Cæsar* (the king at that time of this world) he adjudged the *Lord of life to death*, yet honorably writeth his Title, [c] *This is Jesus King of the Jews.* This title he then was crown'd withal, when life and death divided his soul and body asunder; that in a manner it may be said he never was a King indeed, until he was out of this world.

[a] Joh. 18. 36.
[b] Jo. 19. 12.
[c] Mat. 27. 37.

If he who was our [d] *Lord and Master*, had not this worlds royalty, whence cometh that the Pope is Crowned? and his Cardinals in Purple? whence have our Bishops their Lordships? and as themselves call it [e] *Jura regalia*, their royalty and rites of Baronage?

[d] Joh. 13. 13.
[e] B. *Hall* Episc. cap. part. 2. p. 106.

It may prove a disquisition deep and dangerous, yet I desire (without envy to their pomp or persons) to wade so far as may satisfie a minde that loves truth, and desires to be led by it: and this with all possible brevitie, There hath been a happy & blessed reformation of our Church, God send a better, & a more severe reformation of our Church-men, or else our Church is now in danger to be deformed again.

The state of this inquiry may be this, *viz.* Whether the Ministers of Christs Kingdome may receive worldly titles, and execute wordly Offices and powers? or more generally thus: Whether a Clergy-man may *semel & simul*, be both a Clergy-man and a Lay-man, in power, office and authority over other men in both kindes?

Go

Go we to the fountain head, [a] There was a ſtriſe among them (the Apoſtles) which of them ſhould be accounted the greateſt; which of the twelve ſoever began this emulation of power. Certain it is, that the two ſonnes of *Zebedee*, *James* and *John* with their Mother, firſt preſumed to come and ask the higheſt places of honour (next to the very Throne) in the Kingdom of *Chriſt*; which Kingdom was conceived by them ſhortly after to be raiſed in the ſplendor of this World. This is genuinely gathered from this very ſtorie, generally confeſſed, and clearly confirmed in the Hiſtory of the Acts, where the Apoſtles do ask our Saviour, even after his reſurrection, ſaying, [b] *Lord wilt thou at this time reſtore again thy Kingdom to Iſrael?* Therefore to theſe two brethren and their mother, ſo much miſtaken in the nature of his Kingdom he maketh anſwer, [c] *Ye know not what you ask.* He preſently ſheweth the entertainment of his Kingdom, *A cup to drink of*, that many were like to pray *might paſſe from them*; but they anſwer they *are able to drink thereof.* This their anſwer as it proved true in all the twelve Apoſtles, ſo by the providence of God, one of theſe two brothers, [d] *James* was the firſt of the reſt (as ſome do gather) who drank the cup of Martyrdome, and as ſome think, *John* was the laſt of the Apoſtles.

[a] *Luke* 22.

[b] *Act.* 1. 6.

[c] *Act.* 12. 2.

[d] *Mat.* 20. 22.

Equals look awry on the ambition of their fellowes. Theſe two were vain in their high requeſt, and the other ten murmured at their preſumption, [e] *They were moved with indignation*, ſaith Saint *Matthew*, [f] *They began to be much diſpleaſed*, ſaith Saint *Mark*. But by this happie error of theſe two Apoſtles, our Saviour takes occaſion to inſtruct them, and the other ten, and in them all other Miniſters belonging unto him, how farre different the paſtorall care of his Church, is from the power which governeth in Commonwealths.

[e] *Mat.* 20. 24.

Hereupon the Sonne of God calleth unto him all the twelve Apoſtles, ſaying, [g] *Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion, &c.* [h] *Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exerciſe Lordſhips, &c.* [i] *The Kings of the Gentiles exerciſe Lordſhips, &c.* οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν. *But it ſhall not be ſo among you.* This is a Statute not to be repealed. This is ſpoken *authoritativè & definitivè*, it is the determinate Law of a juſt authority. A Canon ordained and irrevocably fixed by the *Wiſedom of God.* Confirmed by an example above all argument. [k] *For the Sonne of Man came not to be Miniſtred unto, but to Miniſter.* [l] *I am among you as he that ſerveth.* And before this he had taught them, that the [m] *Diſciple is not above his Maſter.* [n] *I have given you an example, that you ſhall do as I have*

[g] *Mark* 10. 41.

[h] *Mat.* 20. 25.

[i] *Mark* 10. 24.

[k] *Luke* 22. 25.

[l] *Mat.* 20. 28.

[m] *Mark* 10. 45.

Luke 22. 22.

[n] *Mark* 10. 24.

Joh 13. 15, 16.

have done to you, verily, verily, the Servant is not greater than the Lord.

This ministery being thus performed in humility, and without worldly titles, The Ministers shall be then exalted. Our blessed Saviour in expresse words following, saith unto them [a] *I appoint unto you a Kingdom* (but addeth) *as my Father hath appointed me.* Now his own Kingdom is spiritual, or as himself said unto *Pilate, not of this World.* Let them then renounce temporal, and they shall have spiritual Honour. But some of the Clergy would (it seems) confound both Kingdomes, being ambitious to inherit *Glory* in the Kingdom of *Grace.* I fear that there are some Bishops do not know how sublime a virtue Christian humility is; how full of Honour.

[a] Luke 22. 29.

[b] Luke 22. 26. Every Πρεσβύτερος must be ὡς νεώτερος, [b] *Let the greatest be as the youngest*, that is the way to be a right Elder, he must be ὡς διακονῶν, [c] Luke 22. 27. [c] as he that serveth, that is the way to be *ministred unto.* He must be [d] Mat. 20. 27. Mark 10. 44. [d] δοῦλος *a servant*, that he may be πρῶτος *a prime or chief.* He must [e] Mat. 20. 26. be Διάκονος [e] *a Minister*, that he may be μέγας *a great one.* These antitheses our Saviour hath placed in the text upon the former occasion.

From hence, may well be argued as a Corollary, to these undoubted premises, that no Minister of the Gospel can lawfully assume, hold, or exercise that power which by the Lord of the Gospel is inhibited to his Ministers. But our Saviour *Jesus Christ* (Lord and only head of his Church) hath inhibited all temporal Lordship, Magistracy and Dominion unto his servants, in the lot of his Clergy. Therefore no Minister of this Gospel may hold or exercise temporal Lordship or Dominion.

These words Οὐκ ἔστως, &c. *It shall not be so among you*, do so streighten the Bishops Masters, that they sit uneasie on their heads: to soften and as it were to fine them for their ease; the Bishops that are and would be all the papal, and some of the Protestant do quilt a gentler sence into these words than can bear analogy with the text. They search the original and pretended to find another sence in our Saviours sentence.

The Text saies that *the Lords of the Gentiles are called gracious Lords* and Εὐεργέται (not tyrants but) *benefactors*, a title fit for the best Princes. And yet this Text (say they) forbids not unto Clergy men, any use and exercise of worldly titles, power, offices, dignities, Commands, dominion, Lordships, &c. but the abuse of them: domineering and tyrannizing with them, not exercising and holding. This they pretend to make firm out of the Greek word

word καταχρήσεως which they would have taken in the worst sense of exorbitant power, even for Tyrannizing. So then, they would teach us, that, *Lord* it they may, and *Lord* it they may not: *Lord* it they may with all pompe, state, power; *Lord* it they may not, with pride, vanity, and oppression. But I shall easily prove this interpretation to be inconstant with the scope and analogy of the Context.

Will they frame their argument from the verbe κυριεύειν to be a Lord, or to rule? or from the preposition κατὰ added and united thereunto? neither will serve. And if the pompe of our Prelates cannot avoid the power of this text, they are down for ever. Let me therefore scan it to the full.

First, κυριεύειν to be a Lord, or to have rule or Lordship, is never properly taken in that ill sence which they would here create, as having unjust, and oppressive power. It is derived from the usual and most frequent title of our Lord and Saviour, whom the holy Scripture so often saluteth Κύριος Lord. Here is no shadow for tyranny.

The true sence of κύριος is *authoritatem habens*, one having authority: being derived from κῦρος authority which is known to be approved and ordained by God himself, from whom all lawfull authority is derived. Mark how well this word is senced through all Authors: *Demosthenes* calleth the heads and chiefe of the Citie, Τὰ κύρια τῆς πόλεως. A Law in force and principal authority is called by *Æschines* κύριος νόμος. *Galen* calleth the chief and principal members of a mans body κυριώτατα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, yet one Member doth not tyrannize over another. *Aristotle* hath [a] Κυρία ἀρετὴ *propria virtus*, (that is,) a vertue properly or principally so called. Αὐθέντης is one that is Lord or Master of himself, not one that domineers over himself. Κυριακὴ ἡμέρα [b] *The Lords day.* Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον *The Lords Supper.* [c] Saint *Paul* saith that [d] *The Law hath dominion over a man so long as he liveth*, he doth not mean that the Law is a Tyrant, yet the word is ὁ νόμος κυριεύει. *Christ* both dyed, and rose, and revived, that he might [e] *be Lord both of the living and the dead*: ἵνα νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. From Κύριος Lord, commeth Κυριότης Lordship, four times mentioned by the holy Apostles, but never taxed as a power tending to Tyranny, but to be obeyed in them who duly are therewith invested, (as may be seen, *Eph.* 1. 21. *Colos.* 1. 16. 2 *Pet.* 2. 10. and *Jude* 8.) Clearly then in κυριεύειν there is no print of usurpation or of oppressive and tyrannical power. If there be, we are then well warned to beware of our Bishops, who not only own the title Κύριος, but expressly plead for it, as the [f] Bishop of *Exeter* in his late *Episcopacy*.

[a] *Ethi. l.* 6.
[b] *Apoc.* 1 10.
[c] 1 *Cor.* 11. 21.
[d] *Rom.* 1. 7.
[e] *Rom.* 14. 9.
[f] *Part* 2. 194.

Secondly, καταχυριεύειν the very word (used by Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark*, in these before alledged Texts) whereby our Saviour forbiddeth

forbiddeth his Apoſtles, to exercise Dominion or Lordſhip is a compounded word of two, κατὰ and κυριεύειν. That is to rule as one that hath authority. I may render it to be, or to behave ones ſelf (κατὰ *juxta Secundum*) according as one that hath authoritie.

This preposition in words compounded hath ſometimes a ſignification of his own, ſometimes none at all, as in καταδικάζω, &c. clearly it hath no ſpeciall ſignification in this καταξουσιάζουσιν; much leſſe a force ſo exegetical as to draw the lawfull power of κυριεύειν into the exorbitancie of a tyrannie. That it hath no force here, is by this apparent, for that the ſpeech of our Saviour recorded by the holie Ghoſt in S. *Matthew* and S. *Mark* by κατακυριεύουσιν and by κατεξουσιάζουσιν are rendred by the ſame ſpirit in S. *Luke*, κυριεύουσιν and ἐξουσιάζουσι. So that plainly you muſt not pretend tyrannizing to be meant in the ſence of one place, except you can find it alſo in both, unleſſe you will come to this, that he forbiddeth tyrannie in one place, and wordlie power in the other, which if you do, you grant the queſtion.

This is enough alone: yet for a further interpretation of κατακυριεύειν, look in *Gen.* 1. 28. where God giveth unto man in the time of mans innocencie, the rule and dominion over all his creatures, even whileſt they all were (*a*) *very good*. The name and word of power in that great Charter granted is κατακυριεύσατε. Now the time of this power granted, the perſon to whom it is granted, the creatures all good on whom it was to be exerciſed, and above all the goodneſs of Almighty God who granted it, do exclude all imagination of a tyrannical power, and admit onlie of a fatherlie maſterſhip over the new creatures of God.

(*a*) Gen. 1. 31.

The ſame word is uſed again (*Pſal.* 110. 2.) and there applied to our bleſſed Saviour κατακυρίευε ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου, *Rule thou in the middeſt of thine enemies*. *Aquila* hath ἐπικράτει *Invaleſce*, prevail over thy enemies. *Symmachus*, σὺ δὲ παίδευε, do thou correct or inſtruct thine enemies.

If then the frequent and conſtant ſence of both κυριεύειν and κατακυριεύειν, be only to have power and authoritie, civil, temporal, and ordinarie dominion, and that all ſuch authority is forbidden them, how poor and weak is that evaſion for our Biſhops, who would have this ſpeech of our Saviour taken in a forced ſence different from all theſe other places? and would forge a new meaning, as if our Saviour did not here forbid κυριότητα κυριεύσαι but only κακὴν χρῆσιν τῆς τυραννικῆς, not a commanding Lordlineſs, but a tyranous uſe of it; when as it is hereby evident, that Chriſt having ordained the Ariſtocracy of twelve, did therein and in his reprehenſion here take away thoſe ſeveral benches of honour, and that proud imparity of temporal power which our Biſhops do ſwell withall.

That

That the former ſpeeches of our Saviour, do deſtroy the Lordlineſs of our Prelates, let us confirm it with a farther conſideration, which is thus. Our Saviour *Chriſt* being (*a*) *the wiſdome of God*, muſt be thought to fit and ſuit his anſwer to the queſtion and requeſt made unto him by the two Apoſtles. But what Biſhop in defence of his uſurped power, dares affirm that two ſuch admirable (*b*) *Pillars*, as *James* and *John*, ſhould ask of ſuch a Maſter *iniquam dominationem*, a cruel dominion over their fellowes, as if the meaning of their requeſt were thus. Maſter, give us two leave to tyrannize over the other ten! He had taught them before, (*c*) *Bleſſed are the meek*, and (*d*) *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart*: Can it then be thought that the beloved Diſciple and his brother, ſhall ask of the maſter of all humility, a tyrannical power to oppreſſe their partners? No man hath ſuch a heart of Lead to think, yet there have not wanted foreheads of braſſe to affirm ſo: Certainly, in that Kingdom of Chriſt, by them as then ſuppoſed to be temporal, they deſired the honour to ſhine in civil dignitie, and eminencie of power and authoritie, which (no queſtion) they intended to have exerciſed with all brotherly moderation, yet are they (and I wiſh our Biſhops alſo were) anſwered with this reprehenſion, firſt, (*e*) *Ye know not what ye ask*, next with his abſolute denial and forbiddance, Οὐχ ὕτως ἔσται, &c. *It ſhall not be ſo among you.*

a 1 Cor. 1. 24.
b Gal. 2. 9.
c Mat 5. 5.
d Mat. 20. 22.
e Cor. 1, 2. 4.

Will the practice of Saint *Paul*, and the counſel of S. *Peter* ſerve for comment to this text? Saint *Paul* ſaith ἐπεσκοπήσαν, (*f*) *We Lord it not*, S. *Peter* himſelf an Elder to other Elders, exhorteth them to feed the flock, ἐπισκοποῦντες overſeeing it: and that not by *conſtraint*, μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες, *nor as being Lords.*

e Cor. 1. 1. 3.

Therefore my reſolution ſtands clear upon this vote; That it may be declared that true and right Epiſcopacy is uncompatible and inconſtant with the authority of a ſecular juriſdiction.

They who give in their names to be labourers in *Gods Vineyard* muſt not go out of the door, and think to return at pleaſure, their whole time they have vowed to the great Maſter of the Vineyard, and I find no wages promiſed but to them who enter and continue there to the laſt hour. (*g*) *No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God.*

g Luke 9. 62.

Let therefore this inhibitory Statute againſt Biſhops holding the ſecular juriſdiction of temporal Lordſhips, ſtand (as it muſt ſtand) irrepealable Οὐχ ὕτως ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν. *It ſhall not be ſo among you.*

Thus by vouching divine Statute that Biſhops ſhould not be Lords I do plainly involve my ſelf in this concluſion, that Biſhops are and ought to be. Such is, ſuch ever was my ſenſe, ſo far am I from the *Rooters.*

God forbid that we ſhould deſtroy the function of Epiſcopacy, but God grant we may (with his Majeſties leave) un-Lord them from a domineering power: For to my ſence, *Syneſius* doth very well deliver himſelf, Συναίρειν τὴν βασιλείαν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ, συγκλώθειν τὰ ἀσυγκλώστα: *To conjoyn the Principality with the Prieſthood, is to cloſe together things inconſiſtent.* And again, Τί δὲ ἀναίρειν πειρᾷ τὰ κεχωρισμένα παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Why do you endeavour to joyn theſe things that are ſeperated by God?*

P. 347. Ep. 57.

In this opinion I may receive as little thanks from the Prelates, as I find full ſatisfaction in my own boſome.

Section VIII.

UPon Thurſday, *May* 21. I ſubjected my ſelf to the obloquie I ſuffer. The Bill for *Abolition* of our preſent Epiſcopacy was preſſed into my hand by *S. A. H.* (being then brought unto him by *S. H. V.* and *Q. C.*)

He told me he was reſolved that it ſhould go in, but was earneſtly urgent that I would preſent it. The Bill did hardly ſtay in my hand ſo long as to make a haſty peruſall. Whilſt I was overviewing it, Sir *Edward Aiſcough* delivered in a Petition out of *Lincolneſhire*, which was ſeconded by M. *Strode* in ſuch a ſort as that I had a fair invitement to iſſue forth the Bill then in my hand. Hereupon I ſtood up and ſaid this, which immediately after I reduced into writing.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THe Gentleman that ſpake laſt taking notice of the multitude of complaints and complaynants againſt the preſent government of the Church, doth ſomewhat ſeem to wonder that we have no more purſuit ready againſt the perſons offending. Sir, the time is preſent, and the work is readie, perhaps beyond his expectation.

Sir I am now the inſtrument, to preſent unto you, a very ſhort (but a very ſharp) Bill: ſuch as theſe times and their ſad neceſſities have brought forth. It ſpeaks a free language, and makes a bold requeſt. It is a purging Bill.

I give it you, as I take Phyſick, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the laſt, and only cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have firſt been tryed. Then — *Immedicabile vulnus*, &c. But *Cuncta prius tentanda* ——

I never was for *Ruine*, ſo long as I could hold any hope of *Reforming*. My hopes that way are even almoſt withered.

This Bill is intituled: *An Act for the utter aboliſhing and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, and Canons, and all other their under Officers.*

Sir,

Sir, you ſee, their demerits have expoſed them *Publicè odii piaculares victimas*. I am ſorry they are ſo ill, I am more ſorry that they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our laſt Bill.

When this Bill is perfected, I will give a ſad Item unto it. And at the delivery in thereof, I do now profeſſe before hand, that if my former hopes of a *full Reformation* may yet revive and proſper; I will again divide my ſenſe upon this Bill, and yeeld my ſhoulders to *underprop* the primitive, lawfull, and juſt *Epiſcopacy*: yet ſo, as that I will never be wanting with my utmoſt pains and prayers to *Root out* all the undue adjuncts to it, and *ſuperſtructures* on it.

I beſeech you read the Bill, and weigh well the work.

This is the neareſt Act that every I have done for *Abolition*: and if I ſuffer for this, it is altogether undeſervedly: For my profeſſion here is to *Root out all undue adjuncts and ſuperſtructures*, but to *underprop the Primitive Epiſcopacy*. And (as before I ſaid) a little addition to this Bill might have given us a good *Reformation*: Take away the preſent Dioceſſes, but ſtate forth the future, in the ſame Bill. The heads of which form ſhall anon be preſented to you.

Section IX.

THe next paſſage of this nature was upon the ſame Bill, whileſt it ſtood (as yet it ſtands) in Commitment to the whole Houſe, Mr. *Hide* excellent well diſcharging that Chaire. And this was the firſt which was diſtaſted abroad. Many have importuned me for copies, but I have yet iſſued none out of my hand, though it were ſpoken above ſeven Months ſince.

M. *Hide*, 21 *Jun.* 1641.

YOu have here a Bill, but ſuch a one as is likely to be ſhort-liv'd, and not grow into a perfect Act, unleſſe you pleaſe to adde thereunto ſome very important, very ſignificant *Proviſo's*, ſuch wherein we may have, or whereby we may be aſſured in another Bill to have a future government, in room of this that goes out. I am confident the Lords will otherwiſe debate and diſpute your Bill quite out of doors.

Sir, we are all bound unto the goodneſs of his ſacred Majeſtie (God preſerve him and his for it) none of all our Bils, none of our Petitions (this Parliament) have miſcarried in his royal hand, but have been all compleated with Royal aſſent.

But the Ambition of ſome of our Prelates, will not let them ſee how incompatible two ſeveral contradiſtinguiſhed functions are in one and the ſame perſon: And therefore there is left you neither *Root nor Branch* of that ſo good, ſo neceſſarie a Bill, which lately we did ſend up; and conſequent no hope of ſuch a *Reformation*, as we all do aim at.

Wh't

What ſparke of hope can we then have, that this Bill, which ſtrikes at *Root and Branch*, both of their Seats of Juſtice there, and of their Epiſcopal Chairs in the Church will paſſe (as it is, and without tender of ſome other Government in lieu of this) ſince the voices are ſtill the ſame, which outed your former Bill.

Truly (I profeſſe) my hopes are ſad in this: never had one Parliament ſo many great affairs, never had any Parliam. any affair ſo great as this which we call *the Bill of Epiſcopacy*. Certain (*Sir*) it is the great hope, or the exceeding fear of every man here, and of all men abroad.

Many a time this Parliament I have heard (and not unjuſtly) that the buſineſſe then in hand was of as great conſequence as any had been agitated within theſe walls.

But in truth (*Sir*) to my apprehenſion, neither Star-Chamber, nor High Commiſſion, nor Shipmoney, nor *Straffords* death, nor *Canterburies* life, are (with me) equivalent, to the ſetling or unſetling of the whole national Church of this Kingdom.

We cannot anſwer to God or man, if we do not uſe our beſt and moſt vigorous endeavours for the peace of the Church we live in.

I ſhould think this a happie day, if we could ſo temper this Bill, that it might walk fairly on through the Houſe of L^ds^. unto the King.

To this end, (and that we may not looſe all, by asking more than all) I will be bold to offer to your conſideration, a proviſional addition or two. Such as (I hope) may both ſatisfie us and ſecure our Bill, by fit amendments.

Here was a little interception, and then a long additional to the Bill preſented in writing, for putting all Church-Government into the hands of Commiſſioners in every Dioceſſe. I proceeded

This was ſo at firſt, though afterward it was reſolved that no Clergy-man but only Lay men ſhould be Commiſſioners.

Sir, there is now offered unto you, a large addition to your Bill, longer (indeed) by far, than the Bill it ſelf. It ſeems to deſire, that a proportionable number of Clergy and Laity, may be commiſſionated together, for all Eccleſiaſtick juriſdiction, untill a future government be reſolved on.

I muſt confeſſe, I am not ſatisfied with this way of Commiſſioners; it would joy me much and ſatisfie me more, if as one Government goes out, I could ſee another come in, and that without an *Inter-regnum* of Commiſſioners.

We are reſolved that the preſent way of Government is unſufferable, let it go, but let us have another. This I conceive to be feiſible, and that in fewer lines, fewer words, than this additional increment now offered to your Bill; which in truth will make me like your Bill worſe than I did before.

To

To this purpose, I do lay this ground: A Church Government we must have. This is (within these walls for ought I hear) on all hands agreed upon: and then (by unavoidable necessity) this Government must be distributed into parts, into certain limits, circuits and divisions of places, wherein it is to be exercised.

Unto this being granted, I do subjoyn three Propositions, and they are these:

First, Our present Dioceses are (for the most part) much too large, too vast; I desire therefore, That the circuit for future Church Government, may be reduced to the common boundaries and limits of our several Shires. The disproportion from thence objected shall be easily answered.

Secondly, Next, in every of these divisions, I desire that some choice, able, grave Divines (twelve or more in a Shire) may be by the Parliament appointed, to be in the nature of an old primitive constant *Presbytery* among us.

Thirdly and Lastly, Because all meetings of many must be disorderly, and the rule of many cannot be without confusion, unless there be one to guide and direct the rest. I shall desire that in every Shire, over every *Presbytery*, we may establish one *President*.

A *President* (I say) more to satisfie others than my self. The name of *Bishop* disturbs not me; let him be a *Bishop*, or an *Over-seer*, or a *President*, or a *Moderator*, or a *Super-intendent*, or a *Ruling-elder*; call him what you will, so as you provide me one in every Shire, over every *Presbytery*, to guide and to direct the rest.

The different sence (to be easily observed) and I hope not past our strength to be reconciled, in this House, concerning our present Church-Government is twofold. One is for *Ruine* thereof, the other for *Reforming*; both are nearer together in heart (I perswade my self) than we are yet aware of. The nearer the better, and more easie composure both of our own selves here, and of the Churches peace throughout the Land abroad. God send that we may find the way to peace.

If the right form of primitive Episcopacy were truly stated forth unto us, it would (questionless) take and lead our judgements along therewith.

This Bishop was not so much a Lord as a Father over his charge, ruling with love and tender bowels; whosoever did institute this Episcopacy, sure I am, this Bishop hath, and ever had, a precedencie before, and a presidencie over others of his own order.

He was one man chosen out among the rest, & by the rest put into a

several *degree* (not into a distinct superiour *Order*) above the rest εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν *ad Episcopandum* to oversee the rest: and this only in matters spiritual, nothing at all in affairs temporal, or secular employments.

If this Bishop were not of *Apostolical institution*, yet it is undeniable that he was of *Apostolical permission*. For, of & in the *Apostolical* times, all stories, all Fathers, all ages have agreed, that such Bishops there were.

His rule indeed was with consent of his Senate, his Presbytery; *Direction* was his, *Coertion* was still their own.

He had προεδρίαν, yea and προστασίαν, both the first place of sitting, and the chiefest part of power: I say the *chiefest part*, I do not say, the *greatest part* of power. The power, it was more eminent in him, but it was virtually residing and domesticant in the plurality of his Assessors.

These Assessors were the Presbyters, the Elders of the Church, of whom holy *Ignatius* (a Father so primitive, that he was Disciple to St. *Iohn* the Apostle, and by some thought to be that very child (whilst he was a child) whom our blessed Saviour took and set before his Disciples, whereof you read in three of the Evangelists. This *Ignatius* (I say) in his Epistle to the *Trallians* doth call these Elders, συμβούλους, καὶ συνεδρεύτα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, *The Councellors and Co-Assessors of the Bishop.*

Mat. 18. 2. Mark. 9. 26. Luke 9, 27. If *Simon Zelotes* were the last, as some affirm.

Here was in this age (and yet this father died a Bishop and a Martyr before the last Apostle went to Heaven) here was a fellowship, yet such a fellowship as destroyed not presidency: and in another Epistle (that to the *Magnesians*) you have such a presidency as doth admit also of a fellowship. The words are, Προκαθεμένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων. *The Bishop being President* (the very name and office there) *as in the place of God, and the Presbyters as a Senate of Apostles.*

I forbear to dilate upon this Episcopacy. But I will be bold, *Ponere ab oculos* to set him before your eyes. I will give him you, even by way of demonstration.

Master *Hide*, your self are now in this great Committee, Mr. *Speaker* is in the House, The Bishop of our Congregation.

You are in your selves but fellow-members of the same house with us, returned hither (as we also are) to sit on these benches with us: until by our election and by common suffrage, you are *Incathedrated*: then you have (and it is fit and necessary, that you should have) a *precedency* before us, and a *Precedency* over us.

Notwithstanding this, you are not diversyfied into a several distinct order from us (you must not swell with that conceit) you are still the same

ſame member of the ſame houſe you were, though raiſed to a painfull and carefull degree among us, and above us.

This Biſhop had (as your ſelf have here) *poteſtatem directivam*, but not *Correctivam*. Correction in our houſe doth dwell in the general Vote.

You know the power you have is limited, and circumſcribed by them who gave it; you are no dictator to preſcribe us our Laws; but muſt gather our Votes: and then your pronouncing doth fix our (not your own ſingle) Orders.

Neither you here, (nor Mr. *Speaker* in the Houſe) can *Degrade* any one of us from theſe Seats, nor can you *ſilence* us in the due liberty of our ſpeech.

Truly (Sir) as yet adviſed, I do heartily wiſh we had in every Shire of *England* a Biſhop, ſuch and ſo regulated for Church-Government within that Sphear, as Mr. *Speaker* is bounded in, and limited by the rules and cancels of this Houſe.

That were (indeed) a well tempered and a bleſſed Reformation, whereby our times might be approximant, and conformant to the Apoſtolical and pure primitive Church.

But this (I fear) is *magis optandum quàm ſperandum*: yet it being the cauſe of God, who can then deſpair?

This happineſs (I mean living under *Epiſcopal Preſidency*, not under a *domineering Prelacy*) this is too high above our reach, yet ſtrong prayers, and hearty endeavours may pull the bleſſing down upon us: In the mean time, woe is our Churches portion, for our *Biſhop Preſident* is loſt, and grown a ſtranger to us, and in his room is crept in, and ſtept up a *Lordly Prelate*, made proud with pomp and eaſe, who neglecting the beſt part of his office in Gods Vineyard, inſtead of *ſupporting the weak*, and *binding up the broken*, forrageth the Vines, and drives away other labourers. The Vines indeed have both Grapes and Leaves, and Religious acts both ſubſtance and circumſtance, but the Gardener is much to blame, who gives more charge to the workmen of the leaves, then of the fruit.

This rough enforcement (of late) to that which is not *the better part*: is an Epiſcopacy that turns all our melody into a threnody: This makes many poor, pious Chriſtian ſouls to *ſing the ſongs of Sion in a ſtrange Land*. Pſal. 137, 3, and 4.

This Biſhop will have no Aſſeſſors (or if any, ſo formally admitted, and ſo awed, as good have none) no Senate, no Conſultation, no Presbytery or common Suffrage: but elates himſelf up into uſurped titles,

and incompatible power, and ſublimes it ſelf by aſſuming a *ſoleſhip* both in *Orders* and *Cenſures*.

Religion and reaſon, and Primitive example are all loud againſt this Epiſcopacy.

This too elate ſubliming of one can not ſtand without a too mean demiſſion (I may ſay debaſing) of many other of the ſame order. Nay this Biſhop not content with Eccleſiaſtick pride alone, will ſwell alſo, with ambition and Offices ſecular.

Truly, (Sir) you have done exceeding well to *Vote* away this Biſhop; for of this Biſhop (and of this alone) I muſt underſtand the *Vote* you have paſſed, until I be better inſtructed: For your Vote is againſt the preſent Epiſcopacy, and for the preſent, you can hardly finde any other Epiſcopacy but this: an authority however by ſome of them better exerciſed, yet too ſolely entruſted to them all.

Away then with this Lordly domineerer who plaies the Monarch (perhaps the Tyrant) in a Dioceſs: of him it is of whom I read, *Epiſcopalia dignitas papalem faſtum redolet*. This kinde of Epiſcopacy it ſmels rank of the Papacy; nor ſhall you ever be able, utterly and abſolutely to extirpate Popery, unleſs you *root* out this *ſoleſhip* of *Epiſcopacy*.

To conclude in ſhort and plain Engliſh, I am for aboliſhing of our preſent Epiſcopacy. Both Dioceſſes and Dioceſan as now they are. But I am withall (at the ſame time) for reſtoration of the pure Primitive Epiſcopal Preſidency. Cut off the uſurped adjuncts of our preſent Epiſcopacy, reduce the antient Epiſcopacy, ſuch as it was, *in puris ſpiritualibus*. Both may be done with the ſame hand, and I think in a ſhorter Bill then is offered now by way of addition.

Down then with our *Prelatical Hierarchy*, or *Hierarchical Prelacy* (ſuch as now we have) moſt of it conſiſting in temporal adjuncts only; the *Diana* and the Idoll of proud and lazy Church-men. This do, but *ea lege*, on this condition, that with the ſame hand, in the ſame Bill, we do gently raiſe again (ever from under the ruines of that *Babel*) ſuch an Epiſcopacy, ſuch a preſidency, as is venerable in its antiquity and purity, and moſt behooveſull for the peace of our Chriſtendom.

This is the way of *Reforming*: and thus by yielding to the preſent ſtorm, and throwing that over-board which is adventitious, borrowed, and undue; Peace may be brought home unto our Church again, the beſt of that building, and the truth of antient Epiſcopacy may be preſerved: otherwiſe we hazard all.

This would be glorious for us, and for our Religion: and the glory thereof will be the greater, becauſe it redounds unto the God of glory.

My

My motion is, That those sheets last presented to you, may be laid by, and that we may proceed to reduce again the old original Episcopacy.

This being thus delivered, and upon report being mis-resented abroad, a stranger came to me the next day, and with much shew of love and sorrow, told me, that I had lost (by this speech) the prayers of thousands in the City. Very many others have since been with me to try my temper, but I have found in them all (all that are absolutely Anti-Episcopal) so much more often treaty then of argument, that indeed they have proved themselves as Bishops unto me, for I received confirmation from them.

Section X.

SInce the late Recess, some endeavours of mine have been reported more distastive then before: insomuch as that, a lying generation gave it forth, some, that I was expelled the House, others that I was in the Tower, for what I had spoken.

The first passage was next morning after our meeting, upon occasion then offered by way of complaint, for not obeying the late Order of the eight of *September*. The complaint came from some Parishoners of *Cripplegate*. And thus I did on the sudden then deliver my self, which presently I reduced into writing.

21. *Octob.* 1641.

Mr. *Speaker*,

IT is very true (as is instanced unto you) that your late order and declaration of the eighth and ninth of *September*, are much debated and disputedabroad: perhaps it may be a good occasion for us to dispute them here.

The intent of your Order to me, ſeems doubtful, and therefore I am bold, for my own inſtruction, humbly to propound two Quæres.

1. How far an Order of this Houſe is binding?

2. Whether this particular Order be continuant or expired?

Your Orders (I am out of doubt) are powerfull, if they be grounded upon the Laws of the Land. Upon that warranty, we may by an Order, enforce any thing that is undoubtedly ſo grounded: and by the ſame rule we may abrogate whatſoever is introduced contrary to the undoubted foundation of our Laws.

But Sir, this Order is of an other nature, another temper: eſpecially in one part of it. Of which (in particular) at ſome other time.

Sir, There want not ſome abroad, men of birth, quality, and Fortunes; ſuch as know the ſtrength of our Votes here as well as ſome of us (I ſpeak my own infirmities) men of the beſt worth, and of good affiance in us, and no way obnoxious to us: They know they ſent us hither as their Truſtees, to make and unmake lawes. They know they did not ſend us hither to rule and govern them by arbitrary, revocable and diſputable Orders: eſpecially in Religion: No time is fit for that, and this time as unfit as any. I deſire to be inſtructed herein.

Mr. Speaker, In the ſecond place, there is a queſtion, whether this Order (whereupon your preſent complaint is grounded) be permanent and binding, or elſe expired, and by our ſelves deſerted.

I obſerve, that your order being made the eight of September, in hope then of concurrence therein by the Lords; that failing, you did iſſue forth your laſt reſolution by way of declaration the ninth of September, wherein you thus expreſſe your ſelf. —— *That it may well be hoped when both Houſes ſhall meet again, that the good propoſitions and preparations in the Houſe of Commons, for preventing the like grievances, and reforming the diſorders and abuſes in matter of Religion, may be brought to perfection: Wherefore you do expect that the Commons of this Realm do in the mean time* —— (What? obey and perform your Order made the day before? No ſuch thing: but in the mean time) —— *quietly attend the Reformation intended.*

Theſe are your words, and this my doubt upon them: whether by theſe words you have not ſuperſeded your own Order? Sure I am, the words do bear this ſence, and good men may think and hope it was your meaning.

My humble motion therefore is this: I beſeech you to declare, that upon this our Reconvention, your order of the eighth of *September* is

is out of date: And that the Commons of *England* must (as you say) *quietly attend the Reformation intended*, which certainly is intended to be perfected up into acts of Parliament. And in the mean time that they must patiently endure the present Laws, until you can make new, or mend the old.

Section. XI.

THe promise made (in my last) hath not been performed in the House, nor is now like to be. The reason is, There is now no probability that we shall debate the validity of our order of the eighth of *September*. A day indeed (*Saturday* the sixth of *November*) was by Order fixed for that theam, but other affairs diverted it. To discharge my promise aforesaid, I was then ready with freedome to have unbosomed my self, as in this following discourse: but that order being expired, and not revived, though moved for; I ask pardon if I do interpose here that which was prepared for that day. Excuse me, *Reader*, if I be willing fully to expose my self to the utmost: The truth of my heart defires some friendly help to set me right, if I be in an error. I am sorry that I am prevented of publishing this in the House.

Master Speaker,

ME thinks I am now going to walk upon the ridge of a house, a dangerous præcipice on either hand. On the one side I must take heed that I speak neither more nor less than the inward dictate of my own conscience: on the other hand I shall be afraid to presume above your better judgements. My path is narrow: I must look to my footing: *Dixi custodiam vias meas, &c. I said I will look to my wayes, that I offend not in my tongue.* Thus I preface, because I foreknow that I shall speak to the dislike of some worthy Members of this honorable House.

Sir, Two questions are before us: First in general, how far an Order of this House is binding *de foris*, not upon our own Members here, but upon the people, the Kings subjects abroad. Secondly, the validity and invalidity of your particular Order of the eighth, and Declaration of the ninth of *September* last.

For the first I am clear in this opinion, That we may enforce any thing that is undoubtedly grounded upon the law of the Land: Shew

me

me that foundation, and I will concur with you in any resolution. We may also declare against any thing that is introduced contrary to our Laws. Farther than this I know no way, unless it be by Bill: and then I know no limitation, no bound. Thus in brief for the general, I come now to your particular Order.

Master Speaker, I shall be afraid to *arraign* your Orders: I have already been controuled, (not for doing so, but as if I had done so) yet (*Sir*) I have often heard it in this House, that *we are masters of our own Orders:* and then (I think) we may in this place arraign them, that is, question them, try them, approve, alter, reject, or condemn them. Was not our Protestation more sacred than an Order? yet that was revised, and (to stop some Objections) new fenced by us. And I take it lawfull in this place to *arraign* (if that be the word) even an Act of Parliament, and then (*a fortiori*) an Order of this House.

Surely (*Sir*) I shall speak reverently of all your Orders when I am abroad: I have done so of this. I am resolved that my obedience shall therein be found good, although my particular reason be rebellant to your conclusions. This is my duty abroad: but here in this House, within these walls, freedom is my inheritance, and give me leave (I pray) at this time to use a part of my Birth-right.

The seasonableness, and the equity of your Order, both are controverted. You all know that this is a dangerous time to make any determinations in matter of Religion: whether it be in the doctrinal, or in the practical part of Gods Worship. Men are (now a daies) many of them more wise, and some of them more wilfull than in former times. The use and caution is this: Let us take care that what we do, we do with due and full authoritie; I would have nothing new (in this kind) but by authoritie of the three Estates: and even then let us be warie that we suit the times with applications proper and seasonable.

Hear me with patience, and refute me with reason. Your command is, *That all corporal bowing at the Name Jesus —— be henceforth forborn.*

I have often wished that we might decline these dogmaticall resolutions in Divinitie: I say it again and again, That we are not *Idonei & competentes judices*, in doctrinal determinations: The theam we are now upon is a sad point, I pray consider severely on it.

You know there is *no other name under heaven given among men,*

men whereby we must be saved. You know that this is [b] *a name above e-* [b] Phil. 2.
" *very name*, [c] *Oleum effusum nomen ejus*, it is the Carroll of his owne 9.
Spouse. This name is by a Father stiled *Mel in ore, melos in aure, jubilum in* [c] Cant. 1.
" *corde*. This, it is the sweetest and the fullest of comfort of all the Names 3.
" and Attributes of God, *God my Saviour*. If Christ were not our JESVS,
" Heaven were then our Envie, which is now our blessed hope.

" And must I Sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence, none at all, to
" God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving Name *Iesus*? why Sir, not
" to do it, to omit it, and to leave it undone, it is questionable; it is con-
" trovertible: it is at least a moot point in Divinity. But to deny it, to for-
" bid it to be done: take heed Sir, God will never own you, if you forbid
" his honour. Truly Sir, it horrors me to think of this.

" For my part, I do humbly ask pardon of this House, and thereupon I
" take leave and liberty to give you my resolute resolution. I may, I must,
" I will do bodily reverence unto my Savior, and that upon occasion taken
" at the mention of his saving Name *IESVS*. And if I should do it also as
" oft as the name of *God*, or *Iehovah*, or *Christ* is named in our solemne
" devotions, J do not know any argument in Divinity to controll me.

" M. *Speaker*, I shall never be frighted from this, with that fond, shallow
" Argument: Oh you make an *Idoll of a Name*. J beseech you Sir, paint
" me a voice, make a sound visible if you can: when you have taught mine
" ears to see, and mine eyes to hear, *I* may then perhaps understand this
" subtile argument. In the mean time reduce this dainty species of new *Ido-*
" *latry*; under i s proper head, (the second commandement) if you can.
" And if *I* find it there, I will flye from it *ultra Sauramatas* any whither
" with you.

" The words are there, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image,*
" *or any likenesse of any thing (ullius rei) that is in Heaven -- or in Earth --*
" Can you here find the Name of God in this description of *Idolizing*?
" Surely Sir, my Saviour is neither γλυπτον nor ὁμοίωμα of any thing there
" forbidden, nor εἴδωλον neither *Sculptile*, nor *Simulachrum*, nor *Idolum*. All
" these are here, and none but these, and every of these doth signifie *Spectrum*
" *aliquod*, some visible object. And must do so, for to speak properly, an *Idol*
" invisible, is but imaginary *Non-sence*. When you can bring the object of
" one sence, to fall under the notion and distinguishment of another sence;
" so that the eye may as well see a Name, or sound, as the eare can hear it:
" then a name may be the object of *I*dolatry: till then, this Argument will
" be too sublime for my understanding.

" God was neither in the *strong and mighty wind*, nor in the *Earthquake*
" yet these hardly (if possible) can be figured, but a *still small voice*, this

"certainly is beyond the curious Art of man to expresse, and consequently "free from all possible perill of Idolatry. And therefore thus in *Deut.* God "doth character himself. *Ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude* Deut. 4. 12. "*onely ye heard a voice.* As if he should say, I know you prone unto Idola- "try: *but now commit Idolatry to a voice, to a sound, to a name if you can.*

"I am grieved to see that wretched, unlearned, and ungodly Pamphlet, "ascribed to *Mr. Burton*, with that daring impious title *Jesu-worship*: con- "futed: where by way of a scornfull Sarcasme, he is not afraid (as with "a Nick-name) to call Christians *Jesu-worshippers*.

"I return, *M. Speaker*, this (as I said) is a sad point in Divinity, to forbid "exterior worship unto God. Was it ever heard before, that any men of "any religion in any age did ever cut short and abridge any worship upon "any occasion to their God? Take heed Sir, and let us all take heed whi- "ther we are going. If Christ be JESVS, if JESVS be God, all reve- "rence (*exterior as well as interior*) is too little for him. I hope we are not "going up the back-staires to *Socinianisme*.

"In a word, Sir, I shall never obey your order, so long as I have a hand "to lift up to heaven, so long as I have an eye to lift up to heaven. *For these* "*are corporall bowings, and my Saviour shall have them at his name* JESVS.

"Yet Sir, before I end, give me leave (I beseech you) to take off that, "which by mistake may else stick still upon me. I never liked the Bishop- "ly injunctions in the late novell practices, nor the severe Inquisition up- "on the bare omission of this posture. The Bishops did rigorously exact it: "upon their own heads the crime of that enforcement lies. But (*I beseech* "*you*) let not us be guilty in the other extream. Truly to my sence it will "savour lesse of Piety, and more of Tyranny.

"In the last place, consider (I pray) that it is a point dogmaticall, not "yet fully resolved by Divines; let us then be wary in it. And let this "(with many other points) be referred to a *Nationall Synod*. For one we "must have, or else we shall break our Religion into a thousand pieces.

"For this present, my motion is (as formerly) that this Order be super- "seded, by declaring to the *Commons* (as your words in the Order are) that "they do *quietly attend the Reformation intended*, and that in the mean time "they do (as they ought) obey the Lawes that are.

SECT. XIJ.

ON Friday the 22. *Octob. some debate there was upon a new short Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. It was languaged that they ought not to intromit themselves into secular jurisdictions; which I received willingly. For if it be found inexpedient, certainly, they ought not: if it be made unlawful, de futuro, they ought not, if it be inconsistent with their function,*

still

still they ought not: as was then argued by a worthy member of the House.

But when it was presently urged by a Gentleman my neighbour there, that into the words, ought not, should be, subjoyned, and that it is inconsistent with their function; which was pressed and urged by a generall number of Scriptures, Fathers, and Councels: Yet I know that Gentleman will not in matter of opinion, scarce in an Historicall point, allow me proof of what I can prove out of the two latter. Occasionally then, I thus expressed my self. M.S.S.

"Mr. *Speaker*, However I am resolved in my private opinion of the "inexpediency and unlawfulnesse for Clergy men to hold secular "jurisdiction (*Duo gladii non sunt in unum constandi & confer ruminandi*) "yet Sir, my inward resolution doth not presently make me a Judge in a "Dogmaticall point, nor do I know that this place doth enable me with "that capacity: if it be my private opinion, yet I desire not to bind the "judgment of the Land herein by an Act of Parliament, although deter- "mining to my own sence.

"Certainly Sir, this point of *inconsistency*, will lead this House (much "more that of the Lords, where the Bishops are) into a debate, which may "more safely and more prudently be avoided. I have formerly, and again "pray you, that we may not engage our selves into the determination of "doctrinall points in Divinity, perhaps it is not propper for us, and for my "part I do think we are not here in *Idonei & competentes judices*.

"Was it ever heard or seen, that a set of *Lay-men*, *Gentlemen*, *Soul- "diers*, *Lawyers*, *Merchants*; all professors admitted, but the profession of "professions for this work, divines alone excluded, that we should deter- "mine upon doctrinall points in Divinity? Theology not so low, so fa- "cile a Trade. Let us maintaine the doctrines that are established; to de- "clare new, is not fit for our Assembly. And for my part, I do think I have "found daily cause to wish these resolutions recommended unto other "resolvers.

"Mr. *Speaker*, Divines are herein (in dogmatick resolutions of Religi- "on) concerned as much, as well as we: They are a considerable party, "and ought not to be bound up un-heard. It was a prevailing Argument "with me against the late Canons, that they could not bind us of the La- "ity, being a distinct severall body, no way involved in their Votes. Our "plea was, that we neither had a *decisive* voice to determine with them: "nor a *deliberative* voice to consult with them: nor an elective voice, in "choice of their Persons, to make them our *Trustees*, to determine for us. "Nor lastly (as at least we should have) a *suscepitive* voice, in a body of our "own to receive their resolution, and of our selves to submit unto them.

"These things are of nature fit to be discussed by grave Divines, in a free "Synod of Divines, to be chosen by Divines: In the mean time, let not us "be guilty of the same which we have condemned in them: we ought not "to pay injury with wrong. They cannot be bound where they are no "way parties: For it is a rule in Nature, Reason, and Religion, *Quod* "*omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. I am so good a friend to your Bill, "that for the better expediting thereof, I desire the word *Inconsistant* "may not stand therein.

Section XIII.

HAving before professed that we are incompetent resolvers of doubtfull points in Doctrine; and finding how much of our pretious time, every motion, petition, and occasionall passage in Religion did take up, I thought it not inconvenient, next day to renew my motion for a Synod.

Saturday 23. October.

M. Speaker,

YOu have entred an Order, that nothing be treated of but affaires of Generall concernment: I will present you one as generall, as universall as any can be.

The sad miseries of our distracted Church, and consequently the hazard of Gods true Religion with us, doth even cut my very heart with griefe and feare.

If we let forth the government into a loose liberty for all Religions, we shall have none. Libertinisme *will beget* Atheisme. *And truly Sir, at present betweene* Papisme *on the one hand, and* Brownisme *on the other,* Narrow is the way, and few there be do find it, *to right good* Protestantisme.

Many mournfull sad complaints I have of late received from Ministers the ablest, and every way the worthiest that I know. I could willingly name you two, one at Dover, *the other at* Cranebroke *in* Kent: *Men upon whose merit, let my credit stand or fall in this House. Hee that hath preached least of these, hath preached severall thousands of excellent Sermons to his people.*

M. Readings.

M. Abbot.

These are in no better condition then many other deserving men, who doe generally complaine with griefe of hearts, to see their now infected sheep, after long pastorall vigilancy, and faithfull ministry, to run and straggle from them more in these last ten moneths, then in twenty yeares before.

Give us (I beseech you give us) a remedy, a speedy remedy to this growing evill: or else our Schollers are like to turne Papist, Arminian, or Socinian: and all the ignorant party will either turne Atheist, or else (which is the next degree) make to themselves a Religion of their owne, as themselves best please.

Sir, we may sit here (for ought I see) and debate our selves and the world abroad into more and more distances of opinion, we are not likely to worke our selves, much lesse others, into unity.

What

What is then to be thought on? Sir, the usuall, antient, the best, and I thinke the onely way of cure is by a Councell. A free, learned, grave, religious Synod.

There is in some hand of this House, and long hath been a Bill for a Nationall Synod ready drawn. With it we are curable; without it I look for no peace. S. R. H.

My humble motion is this in a word. If you love the peace of our Jerusalem, *command forth that Bill to be forthwith read: or if that Bill be not to be had, appoint a Committee to draw up another.*

This is my motion, and it is founded in a hope of piety and peace.

SECT. XIV.

VPon occasion of a Remonstrance 19. *Novemb.* wherein diverse passages then were, concerning Religion and the Church-government, and some in particular (as I conceived) very aspersive to our Religion in the solemne practice of it by our publike Liturgy: charging it (*in hypothesi*) with *vaine Repetition*, and with *savour of Superstition*: I did humbly move, that some of that Committee who framed up that *Remonstrance* for us, would please to assigne what those *vaine Repetitions* are in our Liturgy, and what passages of *Superstition*.

This charge (upon this occasion) was afterward expunged the Declaration.

Nothing was at all said, as I remember, to that point of *Superstition*. But at length a Gentleman did adventure, to name that which he seemed to think to be *vaine Repitition*.

He said that the Lords Prayer is eight, nine or ten times repeated. I did with leave of the House reply, that such repetition *toties quoties* how oft soever was, if heart and words did go together, far from vain. That in my book, the Lords Prayer was but twice in the whole morning Service, unlesse the additionals of Baptisme, Churching, Communion, Buryall, &c. did occurre. That then in every severall Act of Divine Service it was once, and but once repeated, as the high compleasure of all devout expressions.

That this repetition in it self was warrantable, as by our Saviors example who (although he *had not the spirit by measure*) yet in the Garden he prayed three times using the same words. The further debate of this was ofted to the next day, and then it did grow toward a question, whether al exceptions against the Liturgy should be totally laid by, or further debated. I did not hold our selves the proper determinators of this point. I did think that

from hence, occasion might again be taken inductive to renew my motion for a *free Nationall Synod*; which I desired to enforce the best I could: especially there being now obtained a generall promise of a *Synod* in this very part of that Declaration or Remonstrance.

Hereupon thus I adventured. A copy whereof being stolne from me issued lately forth, both unknown to me, and misprinted also: which hath been entertained abroad both with Applause and Exception.

Saturday, November 20.

Mr. *Speaker*,

"THe question is whether these clauses, concerning some pretended erroneous passages in our Liturgy shall be laid by or not. I am of opinion to decline them here: but not to bury them in a perpetuall silence.

"In this very period you give us (in generall tearms) a promise of a "*Nationall Synod*: I do still wish the presence thereof; it being (to my understanding the onely proper cure and remedy for all our Church distractions: and may be proved (if proofe be needfull) to have been practised in the book of God.

"This promised *Synod* is too far off: let me have better assurance then a promise, which that I may obtain, I will be bold to give you some reasons to introduce that assembly, and to speed it also.

Mr. Speaker, *much hath been said, and something attempted to be done to regulate the exteriour part of our Religion: but Sir, we bleed inwardly. Much endeavour hath been to amend the deformed formes we were in, and to new govern the Government.*

Yet Sir, this is but the Leaves of good Religion, fit (I confesse) notwithstanding, to be taken care of, for beauty and for ornament. Nay some Leaves are fit and necessary to be preserved for shadow and for shelter to the blossomes and the fruit.

The fruit of all is good life: which you must never expect to see, unlesse the blossome be pure and good, that is, unlesse your Doctrines be sound and true.

Sir, sir, I speake it with full griefe of heart, whilst we are thus long proyning and composing of the Leaves, or rather whilst some would pluck all Leaves away, our blossomes are blasted. And whilst we sit here in cure of Government and Ceremonials, we are poysoned in our Doctrinals. And at whose doore will the guilt and sin of all this lie?

Sen. *Quinon vetat peccare, cum potest jubet.*

"It is true, that this mischiefe growes not by our consent: and yet I know not by what unhappy fate, there is at present, such an ill-daring liberty, such a lewd licentiousnes, for all men to venting their severall sences

"(sence-

"(senceleſſe ſences) in matter of Religion, as never was in any age, in any "Nation, untill this Parliament was met together.

"Sir, it belongs to us, to take heed that our countenance (the counte-"nance of this honourable Houſe) be not proſtituted to ſiniſter ends by "bold offendors. If it be in our power to give a remedy, a timely and a "ſeaſonable remedy, to theſe great and growing evils, and that we (being "alſo put in mind) ſhall neglect to do it, we then do pluck their ſins upon "our owne heads.

Alienum qui fert ſcelus, facit ſuum. Sen.

"Shall I be bold to give you a very few inſtances? one for a hundred, "wherewith our Pulpits and our Preſſes do groane?

M. Speaker, There is a certain new-born, unſeen, ignorant, dangerous deſperate way of independency; Are we Sir, for this independent way? Nay Sir, are we for the elder brother of it, the Presbyteriall forme? I have not yet heard any one Gentleman within theſe walls ſtand up and aſſert his thoughts here, for either of theſe wayes: and yet Sir, we are made Patrons, and Protectors of theſe ſo different, ſo repugnant Innovations: witneſſe the ſeverall dedications to us. I.

"Nay both theſe wayes, together with the Epiſcopall, come all ruſh-"ing in upon us, every one pretending to a fore-head of Divinity.

1. Epiſcopacy *ſayes its by divine right; and certainly Sir, it comes much neerer to its claime then any other.*

2. Presbytery, *that ſayes its by divine right.*

3. *Nay, this illegitimate thing, this new-born Independency, that dares to ſay its by divine right alſo.* II.

"Thus the Church of *England* (not long ſince the glory of the Refor-"med Religion) is miſerably torn and diſtracted. You can hardly now ſay "which is the Church of *England*. Whither ſhall we turne for cure.

"Another inſtance. If I would deal with a Papiſt, to reduce him; He "anſwers, I have bin anſwered ſo already: To what Religion would you "perſwade me? what is the Religion you profeſſe: Your 39 *Articles* they "are conteſted againſt: your publique ſolemne *Liturgy* that is deteſted: "And which is more then both theſe, the 3. eſſentiall, proper, and onely "*Marks* of a true Church, they are proteſted againſt: what Religion would "you perſwade me to? where may I find, and know, and ſee, and read the "Religion you profeſs? I beſeech you Sir, help me an anſwer to the Papiſt.

* *Proteſtation proteſted denys the Church of England to have the 3. Marks of a true Church.*

"Nay Sir, the Papiſt herein hath aſſiſtance even among our ſelves, and "doth get the tongue of ſome men whoſe hearts are far from him. For at "one of your *Committees*, I heard it publickly aſſerted, by one of that "*Committee*, that ſome of our Articles do containe ſome things contrary "to holy Scripture.

M. *Speaker*,

M. *Speaker, Sunday is a Sabbath: Sunday is no Sabbath:* Both true, both "untrue, in severall acceptations, and the knot I think too hard for our "Teeth. Shall I give you an easier instance?

"Some say it is lawfull to kneel at receiving the Elements of our holy "Communion: others plead it as expedient: Some do presse it is necessary: "and there want not others who abhor it as idolatrous. And Sir, I am con-"fident you cannot so state this easie question to passe among us, but that "there will be many *contradicentes.*

"The second Epistle of S. *Peter* is now newly denyed to be the Apostles. "Our *Creed*, the holy Apostles *Creed*, is now disputed, denyed, inverted, "and exploded, by some who would be thought the best "Christian among us. I started with wonder, and with "anger to hear a bold Mechanike tell me that my *Creed* "is not my *Creed*. He wondred at my wonder, and said, "*I hope your worship is too wise to beleeve that which you* "*call your Creed.*

"*O Deus bone in quæ tempora reservasti nos!* Thus Ἐνὸς "ἀτόπου δοθεῖτος καὶ τ' ἄλλα σύμβαινει One absurdity leads in a "thousand, and when you are down the hil of error, there is no bottome, "but in hell, and that is bottomlesse too. Shall I be bold to give you one "(and but one) instance more? Much clamor now there is against our "publike *Liturgy*, though hallowed with the blood of some of the first "composers thereof. And surely Sir, some parts of it may be very well "corrected. But the clamors now goe very high. Impudence or igno-"rance is now growne so frontlesse, that it is loudly expected by many "that you should utterly abrogate all formes of publique worship [a] and "at least if you have a short forme, yet not to impose the use of it. Ex-"tirpation of *Episcopacy*, that hope is already wallowed, and now the "same m n are as greedy for Abolition of the *Liturgy*: that so the "Church of *England* in her publique prayers ([b]) may hereafter turne "a babler at all adventure. A brainelesse, stupid, and an ignorant con-"ceit of some.

"M. *Speaker*, The wisdome of this House will (I am confident) never "sinke so low: never fall into such a *deliquium* of judgment and of piety. "When you do, I shall humbly submit my selfe: —— unto the stake and "fagot (I mean) for certainly *Sir*, I shall then be a Parliament heritick.

The Ministers in their Remonstrance do complaine that the Creed is often re-hearsed, *but they blotted out (what they had put in) that it is* over-short, *and (in one place)* dangerously obscure.

VI.

[a] *As for them who admit a forme to bee lawful yet do declaime against authority for commanding & imposing the use of it, is to me a wonder and absurdity, that a just authority may not bind that to be done by a Law, which is (as they confesse) lawfull in it selfe hath to have and use.* [b] *In the false Copy abroad, instead of* may hereafter, *the silly Transcriber put in* Nay, her afferture, *which hath been some displeasure unto me.*

Thus

Thus much for a taste of that, whereof there is too much abroad; *For the divisions of Reuben, there are great thoughts of heart* abroad. (*Sir*) Thus are we engaged into sad points of Divinity, and with the favour of that Gentleman, who did last time digust it, I must againe propound my doubtfull *quære*, to be resolved by the wisedome of this House: whether we be *Idonei & competentes judices* in doctrinall resolutions?

In my opinion we are not. Let us maintain the Doctrine established in the Church of England; it will be neither safety nor wisedome, for us to determine new.

(*Sir*) I doe againe repeat and avow my former words: And doe confidently affirme, that it was never seen, nor knowne in any age, in any Nation throughout the whole world, that a ser of Lay-men, Gentlemen, Souldiers, Lawyers of both Gownes, Phyficians, Merchants, Citizens, all professions admitted, or at least admittable, but the professors of Religion alone excluded, that wee should determine upon doctrines in Divinity.

Shall the Clergy hold different doctrines from us? or shall our determinations hold them also? They are a considerable body in this kingdome, they are (herein surely) concerned as much as we, and ought not to be bound up unheard, and unpartied.

Farther (*Sir*) if Clergy-men, among us be thought fit for no other then for spirituall imployment; How shall we answer it to God, and to a good conscience, if wee shut them out from that which wee our selves pretend to be their only and their proper worke?

Mr. *Speaker*, We cannot brag of an unerring spirit; Infallibility is no more tyed to your Chayre, then it is unto the Popes. And if I may speake Truth, as I love truth with clearnesse, and with plainnesse, I do here ingenuously professe unto you, that I shall not, acquiesse, and sit downe upon the doctrinall resolutions of this House: unlesse it bee where my owne *Genius* doth lead and prompt me to the same conclusions.

Mr. *Speaker*, We are here convened by his Majesties Writ to treat *Super arduis negotiis regni & Ecclesiæ*, I beseech you let us not turne *negotia Ecclesiæ* into *dogmata fidei*. There is a great difference in *Objecto* between the Agends and the Credends of a Christian. Let us so take care to settle the government, that we doe not unsettle the doctrines.

The short close of all with a motion is but this: we are poysoned in many points of doctrine: And I know no Antidote, no *Receipe* for cure but one: a well chosen & well temper'd *National* Synod, and Gods blessing thereon: this may cure us: without this (in my poore opinion)

England is like to turn it self into a great *Amsterdam* and unles this councell be very speedy, the disease will be above the cure.

Therefore, that we may have a full fruition of what is here but promised: I doe humbly move that you will command forth the Bill for a *Nationall* Synod, to be read the next morning. I saw the Bill above five moneths since in the hand of a worthy member of this House. If that Bill be not to be had, then my humble motion is (as formerly) that you would name a Committee to draw up another.

This being once resolved, I would then desire that all motions of Religion, (this about the Liturgy, especially) may bee transferred thither, and you will find it to be the way of peace and unity among us here.

I might have added in due place above, a mention of (1) frequent Schismaticall Conventicles. (2) That Taylers, Shoomakers, Braziers, Feltmakers, doe climbe our publik Pulpits. (3) That severall odde irregular fasts have beene held, for partiall venting of private flatteries of some; slanders of other members of this House. (4) That the distinction of Clergy and Laity is popish and Antichristian, and ought no longer to remaine: (5) That the Lords Prayer was not taught us to bee used. (6) That no Nationall Church can be a true Church of God. (7) That the visible Church of Antichrist did make the King Head of the Church. (8) That supreme power in Church affaires, is in every severall congregation (9) That a Presbytery without a Bishop was in the world before it was at Geneva. (10) That it is a bainous sinne to be present when prayers are read out of a booke. (11) That to communicate in presence of a prophane person, is to partake of his prophanenesse. (12) That Christs Kingdome hath beene a Candle under a bushell, while it Antichrist hath out-raigned him for 1600 yeares together.

Many, many more instances at little leisure I can gather, which together have begotten a generall increase of open Libertinisme, secret Atheisme, bold Arminianisme, desperate Socinianisme, stupid Anabaptisme, and with these the new Chiliasses, and the wilfulnesse of Papists strangely and strongly confirmed by these distractions.

Good God! looke downe and direct our consultations. The best issue whereof (I thinke) would be to debate the whole debate of Religion out of our doores: by putting it into a *free Synod*, whereupon I doubt not but wee should grow unanimous in all our other works.

Section XV.

Section XV.

THe Remonſtrance or great Declaration went out of the Houſe much better then it came in. When it was engroſſed and preſented to the laſt vote with us, I gave in my exceptions thus.

22. *Novemb.* 1641.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THis Remonſtrance is now in progreſſe on its laſt foot in this Houſe: I muſt give a vote unto it, one way or other: my conſcience bids me not to dare to be affirmative: So ſings the bird in my breaſt. and I doe cheerfully beleeve the tune to be good.

This Remonſtrance whenſoever it paſſeth, will make ſuch an impreſſion, and leave ſuch a character behind, both of his Majeſty, the People, the Parliament, and of this preſent Church and State, as no time ſhall ever eat it out, whileſt Hiſtories are written, and men have eyes to read them.---How curious then ought we to be, both in the matter and the forme? Herein is a ſevere point of conſcience to be tryed: Let us be ſure that every particular ſubſtance be a *Truth*: and let us cloath that *Truth* with a free language, yet a modeſt and a ſober language.

Mr. *Speaker*, This Remonſtrance is in ſome kind greater and more extenſive then an Act of Parliament: that reacheth only to England and Wales; but in this the three Kingdomes will be your immediate ſupervisors: and the greateſt part of Chriſtendome will quickly borrow the glaſſe to ſee our deformities therein. They will ſcan this worke at leiſure, which (I hope) we ſhall not ſhut up in haſte.

Some pieces here are of excellent uſe and worth: but what is that to me, if I may not have them, without other parts that are both doubtfull and dangerous.

The *matter*, *forme*, and *finall end* of this Remonſtrance, all of them doe argue with me, not to remonſtrate thus.

The *end*: to what end doe we decline thus to them that looke not for it? Wherefore is this deſcenſion from a Parliament to a people? they looke not up for this ſo extraordinary courteſie? The better ſort thinke beſt of us: And why are we told that the people are expectant for a Declaration?

I did never looke for it of my predeceſſors in this place, nor ſhall doe from my ſucceſſors I do here profeſſe that I do not know any one ſoule in all that Country (for which I have the honour to ſerve) who lookes for this at your hands. They doe humbly and heartily thank you for many good Lawes and Statutes already enacted, and pray for more. That is the language beſt underſtood of them, and moſt welcome to them. They doe not expect to heare any other ſtories of what you have done, much leſſe promiſes of what you will doe.

Mr. *Speaker*. When I firſt heard of a Remonſtrance, I preſently imagined that like faithfull Counſellors, we ſhould hold up a glaſſe unto his Majeſty: I thought to repreſent unto the King the wicked counſels of pernicious Counſellours: The reſtleſſe turbulency of practicall Papiſts. The treachery of falſe Judges: The bold innovations and ſome Superſtition brought in by ſome pragmaticall BB: and the rotten part of the Clergy.

I did not dream that we ſhould remonſtrate downeward, tell ſtories to the people, and talke of the King as if a third perſon.

The uſe and *end* of ſuch Remonſtrance, I underſtand not; at leaſt, I hope, I doe not.

Mr. *Speaker*. In the *forme* of this Remonſtrance, if it were preſented to you from all the Committee, yet I am bold to make this Quære, whether that Committee have preſented to us any heads in this Remonſtrance which were not firſt agitated here, and recommended to them from this Houſe: if they have, there wanteth then (for ſo much) the formall power that ſhould actuate and enlive the work ſo brought unto us: as may be well obſerved by peruſing the order (now above a twelvemonth old) for conſtituting that Committee.

10. Novem. 1640.

In the *matter* of this Remonſtrance I except againſt ſeverall particulars, but upon the tranſient reading of it, (not having any view thereof) I will gather up two inſtances onely, very obvious, very eaſie to be obſerved.

First, (as was alſo obſerved by a learned Noble Lord who ſpake laſt) here is a charge of a high crime againſt all the Biſhops in the Land, and that above all proofe that yet I have heard.

Lo. *Viſcount Falkland.*

Your words are, *Idolatry introduced by command of the BB.*

What? plaine, flat, formall idolatry? name the ſpecies of this idolatry, that is introduced by the Biſhops, that is (for indefinite propoſitions are æquipollent to univerſall) by all the Biſhops, and by a *command* of theirs.

Certainly

Certainely *Sir*, Idolatry (in the practice of it) is a very visible sin; and the *command* of the Bishops was either legible or audible. Who hath read this command? who hath heard this command? who hath seen this all commanded Idolatry? and can assigne wherein it is?

Some superstition in Doctrines, and in practices, by some Bishops this is not the question. But the odious apostacy of Idolatry. Give me leave to say.

No man in this House can charge and prove all the Bishops, no nor halfe of them, I dare say, not any three among them: perhaps (and truely I thinke so) not one among them all; to have issued forth any one *command* for idolatry. If any man can, let him speake and convince me, I love to be reformed. In the mean time I desire to offer you some particulars in barre, and by way of oppositi to this charge.

The learned, pious, and painefull B. of *Durham* hath fought in front against Romish superstition and idolatry. *D. Morton.*

The B. of *Lincolne* was the first of note that gave check unto our Papall misleaders and Altarian innovators. He stood in gap of that inundation, and was a sufferer for us. *D. Williams.*

The B. of *Exeter* (however mistaken in the Divinity of Episcopacy) hath ever had the repute both of a good man, & a good Bishop. He hath not only held and maintained his station, but advanced also, and made good impression upon the Idolaters of Rome. *D. Hall.*

M. *Speaker*, This hath been a very accusative age: yet have I not heard any superstition (much lesse Idolatry) charged (much lesse proved) upon the severall Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Chester*, *Carlile*, *Chichester*. *D. Juxton. D. Curle. D. Bridgman. D. Potter. D. Duppar.*

Parcite paucorum crimen diffundere in omnes.

Not for love unto the persons of these Bishops, but for honour to our Religion, although the times of late have been somewhat darkened; yet let not us make the day blacker in report then it is in truth.

In the last place I observe a promise in generall words, that *Learning shall be rather advanced then discouraged: Sed quid verba audio, cum facta videam?*

Great rewards doe beget great endeavours: and certainely (*Sir*) when the great Bason and Ewer are taken out of the Lottery, you shall have few adventurers for small Plate and Spoones onely.

If any man could cut the Moon out all into little Stars: although we might still have the same Moon or as much in small pieces, yet we shall want both light and influence.

To hold out the Golden ball of honour and of profit, is both policy and honesty; and will be operative upon the best natures, and the most pious minds.

But (*Mr. Speaker*) if I observe aright; learning (I meane Religious learning) in this Remonstrance is for one halfe thereof utterly unthought on. And because I heare often speech of one halfe, but seldome mention of the other, give mee leave (I beseech you) in this Theam a little to inlarge my selfe: if your Remonstrance once passe, t will be too late (I feare) to enter this plea.

It is I dare say, the unanimous wish, the concurrent sence of this whole House to goe such a way, as may best settle and secure an able, learned, and fully sufficient ministery among us. This ability, this sufficiency must be of two severall sorts.

It is one thing to be able to preach and to fill the Pulpit well; it is another ability to confute the perverse adversaries of Truth, and to stand in that breach. The first of these, gives you the wholesome food of *sound Doctrine*; the other maintaines it for you, and defends it from such Harpies as would devour or else pollute it. Both of these are supremely necessary for us, and for our Religion.

Tit. 1. 6.

2 Tit. 9. 10 Verse 11.

Both are of Divine institution. The holy Apostle requireth both. Both ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ ἐλέγχειν. First to preach, *That he be able with sound Doctrine to exhort*: and then, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν, *and to convince the gainsayers*. For (saith he) *there are many deceivers whose mouths must be stopt.*

Now Sir, to my purpose: these double abilities, these severall sufficiencies, may perhaps sometime meet together in one and the same man: but seldome, very seldome, so seldome that you scarce can find a very few among thousands rightly qualified in both.

Nor is this so much the infelicity of our, or any times, as it is generally the incapacity of man, who can not easily raise himself up to double excellencies.

Knowledge in Religion doth extend it selfe into so large, so vast a Sphere, that many (for hast) do cut crosse the diameter, and find weight enough in halfe their worke: very few doe or can travell the whole circle round.

Some one in an age (perhaps) may bee found, who as Sir *Francis Drake* about the terrestriall Globe, may have travelled the celestiall Orbe of Theologicall learning, both for controversall, and for instructive Divinity.

The incomparable Primate of *Ireland* deserves first to bee named. Bishop *Morton* (whom I mentioned before) is another reverend worthy,

worthy, and hath highly deserved of our Church in both capacities. *Jewel* (of pious memory) another Bishop never to bee forgotten. Some few others I could name, able and active both for Pulpit and the Pen, But *Sir*, these be *Rara aves*, there are very few of them now. As Mr. *Reading*. M. *Abbot*.

The reason is evident. For whil'st one man doth chiefly intend the Pulpit exercises, hee is thereby disabled for polemick discourses: and whil'st another indulgeth to himselfe the faculey of his pen, he thereby renders himselfe the weaker for the Pulpit. Some men aiming at eminency in both have proved but meane proficients in either. For it is a rule and a sure one,

Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula ——

Now *Sir*, such a way, such a temper of Church-government and of Church-revenue, I must wish, as may best secure unto us both: both for preaching to us at home, and for convincing such as are abroad.

Let mee be alway sure of some Champions in our *Israel*, such as may bee ready and able to *fight the Lords battell* against the Philistims of *Rome*, the Socinians of the *North*, the Arminians and Semi-Pelagians of the *West*: and generally against Heretieks and Atheists every where. God encrease the number of his *labourers within his Vineyard*: such as may plentifully and powerfully preach faith and good life among us. But never let us want some of these watchmen also about our *Israel*, such as may form *the everlasting hils* (so the Scriptures are called) watch for us, and descry the common enemy, which way soever hee shall approach. Let us maintaine both Pen and Pulpit. Let no Ammonite Perswade the Gileadite, to foole out his right eye unlesse we be willing to *make a league* with destruction; and to winke at ruine whil'st it comes upon us. 1 Sam. 2.

Learning (*Sir*) it is invaluable: the losse of learning, it is not in one age recoverable. You may have observed, that there hath been a continuall spring, a perpetuall growth of learning ever since it pleased God, first to light *Luthers* candle: I might have said *Wicklifes*, and justly so I doe; for even from that time unto this day, and night and houre, this light hath increased; and all this while our better cause hath gained by this light; which doth convince our Miso-musists, and doth evict that *Learning* and *Religion*, by their mutuall support, are like Hippocrates twins, they laugh and mourne together.

But *Sir*, notwithstanding all this so long encrease of learning, there is a *Terra incognita*, a great Land of learning not yet discovered: our adversaries are dayly trading, and wee must not sit downe and give over, but must encourage and multiplie, and encrease the number

of

of our painefull Adventures for the Golden fleece: and except the fleece be of Gold, you shall have no Adventurers.

Sir, we all doe looke that our cause should be defended: if the fee be poore, the plea will be but faint. Our cause is good, our defence is just: let us take care that it be strong; which for my part, I doe clearely and ingenuously professe, I cannot expect should be performed by the Parish Minister, no not so well as hitherto it hath beene. For from whom the more you doe now expect of the Pulpit, the lesse (I am sure) you must looke for of the Pen.

How shall he with one hundred pound, (perhaps two hundred pound) *per annum*, with a family, and with constant preaching, be able, either in purse for charge, or in leisure for time, or in Art for Skill, to this so chargeable, so different, so difficult a worke? I speak it (Mr. *Speaker*) and Pardon my want of modesty if I say, I speake it not unknowingly: Six hundred pound is but a meane expence in bookes, and will advance but a moderate Library. Paines and learning must have a reward of *Honour* and *Profit* proportionall: and so long as our Adversaries will contend, we must maintaine the charge, or else lay downe the cause.

In conclusion, I doe beseech you all with the fervour of an earnest heart; a heart almost divided betweene hopes and feares: never to suffer diversion or diminution of the rents we have for *Learning* and *Religion*; but beside the Pulpit, let us be sure to maintaine παντρατιαν καθολικὴν, an universall *Militia* of Theology, whereby we may be alway ready and able (even by strength of our owne, within our owne happy Island at home) ἐπιστομίζειν, to stop the mouth of all errours and heresies that can arise.

Never *Sir*, never let it be said that *sacred Learning* (for such is that I plead for) shall in one essentiall halfe thereof, be quite unprovided for in *England*. Sir, I have reason to be earnest in this, I see I know great designes drawing another way: and my feares are increased, not cured by this declaration.

Thus I have done: and *because* I shall want Champions for true Religion. *Because* I neither looke for cure of our complaints from the Common people, nor do desire to be cured by them. *Because* this House (as under favour I conceive) hath not recommended all the heads

of

'of this Remonſtrance to the Committee which brought it in; *Becauſe* it 'is not true that the Biſhops have commanded Idolatry. Becauſe I do 'not know any neceſſary good end and uſe of this Declaration, but doe 'fear a bad one. And becauſe we paſſe his Majeſty, and do Remonſtrate 'to the People. I doe here diſcharge my Vote with a cleare conſcience, 'and muſt ſay *NO* to this ſtrange Remonſtrance.

Section XVI.

THus far I go cleare, the ſame man unchanged: and that I may fully expoſe my ſelfunto a right Character, and a true eſteeme, beſide the laying open how I have already expreſſed my ſelf in matter of Religion I ſhall now be bold to give you a compoſure fitted and framed for the Houſe, on the ſame ſubject, and ready to have been preſented above half a yeare ſince.

The Bill for *Root and Branch* (commonly called the Biſhops Bill) having long bin agitated, and in the Commitment grown from two ſheets to above forty, I did think it would at leaſt have been brought to queſtion for the engroſſing: This that follows was ready to have been interpoſed upon that queſtion. The Bill is laid down (I hope) to its perpetuall reſt. This was prepared as an endeavour to lay that aſleepe. And becauſe it doth moſt fully repreſent my utmoſt end and aime for *Reformation*, I am willing to ſubjoyne it here unto the reſt.

Σὺν Θεῷ.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THis Bill is now in queſtion for its further progreſſe: I muſt give a vote unto it one way or other. The inward dictate of my conſcience will not ſuffer me to be affirmative. We may now debate this Bill *ſuper totam materiam*, and I will then (with your leave and patience) give you ſome account why I am ſo fixed negative. This I ſhall doe as briefly as this cauſe can beare.

You had from my hand a very ſhort Bill,

——— *Non hos quæſitum munus in uſus.*

I am willing (with many more) to abrogate that which is: provided that I may at that very time, in the ſame Bill know and conſtitute what ſhall be; ſuch an addition to this Bill I did at firſt expect: Such an addition I ſhall anon be bold to preſent, but it will not now ſuit this Bill, as it is now miſtempered to that purpoſe.

This Bill when it was but a ſhort one, it did contain a great ſum; *An Act for the utter aboliſhing of all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Deanes, and*

Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chaunters, Chanons, and all other their under-officers. These may be Legion for ought I know, they are so many, and many of them instruments and officers of vexation only. Pope Gregory the first gave a true prediction, when hee said that Antichrist should come *Cum exercitu Sacerdotum, with an army of Priests*; it hath proved so. True on the other side, where the numberlesse numbers of Monks, Fryers, and Secular Priests, with his Janizary Jesuits, doe match the greatest army that ever the Grand Signior hath led. True in proportion with us, if the under-officers among us doe reach near the thousands they have been (of late) computed at. But letting passe the army of *all their under-officers*, the substance and body of our present work is reducible to two heads.

Ep. l. 4. c. 32.

1 *Episcopall Government.*
2 *Cathedrall Societies.*

All the rest are unto these, but *Phalerae nugae*, their idle trappings and additionall impertinencies.

In the discussion and resolution of all this (I am confident) if we be but candid, temperate, and respectfull hearers of one another: we shall find that (all this while) we are farther of, in words, in language and expressions, then we are in matter, in truth, and in purposes.

In the first place therefore, lest we should beat the aire in a mistaken sense of words, I will be bold in a word or two, to give you the different sense of the word *Episcopacy*.

Sir, it will be maintained upon good ground that Episcopacy is *of Divine Right*: it will be maintained upon grounds as good, that Episcopacy is *not of Divine Right*. The ambiguity lyes in the word *Episcopacy*, and it must be put into a certainty, or else we shall run our selves into a certaine Labyrinth of words, and lose the matter.

Three sorts of Episcopacy I have observed, and no more: pardon me if I use expressions which you have received before: They were his, they are mine, and *Beza* taught us both: who gives them thus.

1 *Episcopatus Divinus.*
2 *Episcopatus Humanus.*
3 *Episcopatus Satanicus.*

Others in milder language do keep the same sense: So you may please to say, there is

1 *Episcopus Pastor.*
2 *Episcopus Praeses.*
3 *Episcopus Princeps.*

The

The first of these we all do reverence: it is the ordinance of God. You may safely write a *Noli me tangere* upon that: you have the holy text to warrant you. *Noli tangere Christos meos.* Psalm. 105. 15.

The second also (in its degree) I doe highly honour, it is of right venerable antiquity: And for my part, if I can find such Episcopacy among us, I shall willingly submit thereto, though it should prove but the ordinance of man. Kings are no more themselves: Yet being once invested obedience is due unto them by Divine right. You have another text for this also. *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake.* 1 Pet. 2. 13. So then the first is the ordinance of God, to be obeyed for God: The second, although the ordinance of man, yet (whilest it stands so ordained) it is to be obeyed for God also.

The third Episcopacy hath too much of the Principality. This I detest, this I abhor. This is originally and really Antichristian. Away with this if you please, both *Root and Branch.*

If you will give me leave and patience, I will (as briefly as I can) touch them over and explaine my selfe.

First, *Episcopus Pastor.* This I say is of *Divine Right.* Every spirituall Shepheard is to have a Flock: and every Congregation must have a Pastor to overlee that Flock. This is originall, and of no lesse then Divine institution. I need not prove this Bishop. If there be any doubt of this Episcopacy, look S. *Paul* in the twentieth of the Acts, there he gives this charge; *Take heed* (saith he) *to the flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops.* Vers. 28. I know well that this text is by some Expositors construed of other Bishops. But how ever here are Bishops by divine right. And (mark you!) the holy Ghost (God for ever to be blessed) he first made Bishops. The Originall is plaine, τὰ ἐπισκόπους τοῦτους ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους.

S. *Peter* speakes by the same spirit; *Feed the flock of God* (saith he) 1 Pet. 5. 2. *which is among you: taking the Bishoprick thereof.* Our English reading is *the oversight* thereof, both the same. Overseers and Bishops differ no more then a Greek name and an English; severall sounds, but the same sense. The originall is ἐπισκοποῦντες, *being Bishops* thereof, nothing can be more plaine.

Now (*Sir*) this Episcopacy, we shall not, we must not, wee dare not remove. This is that Bishop of whom the most ancient *Ignatius*, thus, *Episcopo subjecti estote velut Domino, ipse enim vigilat pro animabus vestris.* Ep. ad Trall.

Away then with their impertinent objection, who say, that there is a malady in the very name of Bishop; that the name is odious: you

see the holy Ghost hath honoured this name and title, with approbati-
1 Pet. 2. 25 on. Nay this name and title must never sinke into obloquy, it being one of the attributes of our blessed Saviour, He is the *Bishop of our soules*.

The second is *Episcopus præses*. If this be but *Humanus Episcopatus* (for I doe not determine the point already warme betweene a reverend and worthy Bishop & his Anti-pent-agonists) if it be not founded upon Divine institution, yet certainly it stands on good grounds, and pleads its owne right by a good title, and that either *jure Apostolico*, or *jure Ecclesiastico*: or *jure civili & constitutivo*, or *jure rationis & convenientiæ*. All or any of these do entitle it *jure bono*. And that by so good, so approved a right, that (M^r. *Speaker*) I am bold to stand up, and to forbid any man from this houre for 1600 yeares upward, to name any one age, nay any one yeare, wherein this Episcopacy was out of dare in the best part of Christ-dome. By the word *Bishop* I doe here understand, a man of the Clergy eminent in honour and power, by vertue of a superiour degree above other men, both Ministers and people within a certaine circuit or territory allotted and subjected to his particular care and survey in matters spirituall, and affaires Ecclesiasticall.

I will not trouble you to repeat the character of this Bishop: I have formerly been bold with you in that kind. He had a precedency. He had a presidency: He had a power, *potestatem directivam*, it cannot be denyed. I gave you an instance very accommodate to my sense: (M^r. *Speaker*) your selfe are our Bishop, we are your Presbyters.

It is true, that we have made you our Bishop, our Overseer, our President: and now it is true, that neither we without you, nor you without us, can establish any one order. Not you without us, we must be your Assistants. So *Ignatius* of old, *The Presbyters are* (saith he) *Συνεδριον Θεου, καὶ συνέδριον & Ἀποστόλων, as the Senate of God, and the band of Apostles.*
Epist. ad Tral.
Nor we without you, for so the same *Ignatius* (give me leave to presse his venerable authority, although ignorance and arrogance have of late decryed both him and all Antiquity.) *They* (saith he) *who doe all things*
Epist. ad Magnes. *χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου without a Bishop, to such men Christ will say —— Why doe you call me Lord, Lord, and doe not the workes I bid you? Such men do seeme vnto me vnprofitable, not to bee of good conscience, but to be counterfeiters and dissemblers.* Mark his judgment on such as would do all things *without a Bishop.*

Of this Bishop, the *Bishop President* (and I plead for no other) it must be meant, which I read in the same *Ignatius* (I will not trouble you with any yonger, or any weaker authority, and I will hold my self within those

Epistles

Epistles that are indubiously his) the words are these, Ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς. *It is necessary* (necessary he says) *that you do nothing without the Bishop.* Epist. ad Tral.

Clearly then, the *Bishop President* in the best and purest age, was of the *Quorum* in all Ecclesiasticall affaires. And for this last age, Reverend *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucer*, *Zanchy*, *Danæus*, learned *Chamier*, all admit, none reject this kinde of Episcopacy.

They who deny that ever any such Bishops were in the best, the purest times, I entreat some one of then (if any such be here) to stand up, and to shew me, teach me, how I may prove, that ever there was an *Alexander* of Macedon, or a *Iulius Cæsar*, or a *William* the Conqueror in the world. For *Sir*, to me as plain, as evident it is, that Bishops President, have been the constant, permanent, and perpetuall governours, and moderators of the Church of God in all ages. And this being matter of fact, I do hope that historicall proofe will be sufficient adequate proofe in that which in its fact is matter of history. But proofs herein are so manifold and so clear, that I borrow the free and true assertion of a worthy and a learned Gentleman: *It may be thought want of will rather than want of light, which makes men deny the antiquity of Bishops in the Primitive times.* Sir *Thom. Aston*, review of Episcopacy, p. 1.

Therefore answer not me, but answer *Ignatius*, answer *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, and *Irenæus*. Nay, answer the whole indisputed concurrence of the Asian, the Europæan, and the African Churches, All ages, all places, All persons: Answer (I say) all these, or (do as I do) yeeld to the sufficient evidence of a truth.

Deque fide certâ, sit tibi certa fides.

But do not think to bring me into a dream of a new born, or new to be born Church-goverment, never known, never seen in Christendome before this age.

As for them, who say that all Episcopacy is Antichristian: Truly *Sir*, they may (if they please) with as sound reason, and with as much knowledge say, that all Church-goverment is Antichristian; and I doubt there are some abroad ripe for such a sense.

Sir, Let us be wiser than to cosen our selves with words, and through a mistaken Logomachy run our selves into a Church Anarchy. If you talk with a Papist, in point of Religion, presently he is up with the word *Catholike*; *Catholike* he tels you he is, of the *Catholike Roman Church*. This goes off *ore rotundo*; but require him to speak plain English-- The *Universall Roman Church*, & then you may laugh him into silence. Just so; some cry away with *Bishops*, *no Bishops*, no not of any kind. I desire one of that

 sense to

sense to stand up, and tell me sadly, would you have an *Overseer* in the Church or not?

Phil. 4. 3. Ancient S. *Clement* (whom S. *Paul* calleth his *Fellow-workman* in his undoubted Epistle to the Corinthians) doth foretell that a time should come, when there would be Ἔρις ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, *contention about the very name of Bishop*. I think the time is now. For my part I will not make that my contention; but for the government by an Episcopal presidency, shew me any thing more agreeable to the holy word: shew me any thing more honoured by the holy Martyrs of the first and the later times: shew me any more rationall and prudentiall way of government, and I yeeld unto you.

Some against all Episcopacy do plead unto us, the fresh example, and late practice of our neighbour Churches. But I beseech you, Sir, are not wee herein as fit to give them our, as to take their example? I am ashamed to heare yesterdayes example pressed as an argument by some, and the all-seeing providence through all ages to the contrary turned aside, by the same men, as not worth an answer. Or if an answer you get, it is but this dead one, wherein (as in a *mare mortuum*) they would drown all reply. Oh, say they, the *mystery of Iniquity* began to work in the Apostles time. *Ergo*, what? Therefore, say they, this Episcopacy is that mystery of iniquity: & so they do desperately conclude with themselves, that *Christ* did never support his Church with a good government till *Farell* & *Frumentius* did drive their Bishop out of *Geneva*: or since then, untill Presbytery begat Independency. But their Syllogisme is a true Logick and as consequentiall, as our Kentish Proverb, that *Tenterden Steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands*. Both arguments are in one and the same mood and figure. But I returne and proceed.

I have not asserted this kinde of Episcopacy as divine, yea I professe that it soares aloft.

——— *Et caput inter nubila condit.*

It hath been strongly received, that Presbyters succeed to the seventy Disciples, and Bishops to the Apostles. S. *Peter* honours Episcopacy, by entitling the holy Apostles thereunto; for *Matthias* is chosen to *take a Bi-*
Acts 1. 20. *shoprick* (the very word there) which *Judas* lost by *going to his own place*.

S. *Paul* tels you, *This is a faithfull saying*, εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, *If any*
1 Tim. 3. 1 *man desire a Bishoprick, he desireth a good work*. And this S. *Paul* writes not at large in an Epistle to the body of a whole Church, as to Rome or Corinth, but this is in; directed unto *Timothy*, then designed to be the particular Bishop, that is the President and Overseer of *Ephesus*.

Two

Two things are (or may be) here objected. First, that neither of these Texts, nor any other can be found, expresly mandatory, requiring the Office of Episcopacy in the Church. Next, that the name of Bishop is in some places plainely given unto Presbyters. I answer,

If you put me upon this, that you will not yeeld unto Episcopacy untill you have a Text expresly positive therein, consider if by the same rule you do not let loose many other points as well as this. Shew me an expresse Text for the Lords day to be weekly celebrated. It will be hard to finde divers articles of our Creed in the holy Scripture *terminis terminantibus*. What have you there for *Pædo-baptisme*? what precept or example have you from our Saviour, that women shall receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper? Why should women be baptized since the covenant (to which baptisme doth succeed) Circumcision was a seale betweene God and men only? What have you there expresse, why I may not beleeve the Trinity to be three almighties, as well as three persons and but one almighty?

But *Sir*, the golden rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis* is an unfailing guide. *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, look what among Christians, hath been every where at all times, by all men universally received, *Atque id quidem verè est Catholicum*, and there you may rest secured, So (I say) that for right sense of these Texts, and for warrant of this Episcopacy, the universall practice of the whole Church of God, especially in the Apostles times, and immediately succeeding the Apostles, is a most undeniable commentary to clear unto us, that this kind of Episcopacy is and was of *Apostolicall allowance*, if not of *Apostolicall institution*. And thus in other points doth *Tertullian* argue against *Marcion*, and S. *Augustine* against the Donatists.

The second exception is thus. These Bishops may well be thought to be but Presbyters, for, say they, the name of Bishop is given to presbyters also in holy writ. *Ergo* Episcopacy is not a severall degree from Presbytery.

Surely *Sir*, if this argument be a sound one, then Apostleship it self was not a severall order and degree from the 70 Disciples, and from presbyters, & then it had been a vain thing to take *Matthias* from a disciple into the *lot* and *fellowship* of an Apostolate. S. *Peter* doth not degrade himselfe of his Apostleship, when he entitled himself Συμπρεσβύτερος, *a fellow Presbyter*. That very office which is called *a Bishoprick* is within 4 or 5 verses following, called the *ministery of an Apostleship*. And if you will argue from community of names to identity of office (so is done in the titles of Bishop & Presbyter) surely then we shal find many more Apostles than they

1 Pet. 5. 1. Acts 1. 20, 25.

Act. 9. 27. they who *saw the Lord in the flesh*. So *Barnabas* is called an *Apostle*. So
2 Cor. 5. 16 *Andronicus* and *Junius* are *among the Apostles*. S. *Paul* cals *Epaphroditus*,
Act. 14. 14 *the Apostle of the Philippians*, ὑμῶν ἀπόστολον. So speaking to *Titus* and
Rom. 16. 7 others, they are stiled Ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, *the Apostles of the Churches*. Shall
Phil. 2. 25. I conclude, that all these who are thus called Apostles, were indeed, and in proper acceptation very Apostles? No man will say so.

By the same argument, (from community of name to identity of Office, which argument, by Antiprelaticall men, is much enforced) I may prove an Apostle and a Deacon to be the same Office. *S. Paul* calleth his Apostleship but a Deaconry, Τὴν διακονίαν ἐπλήρωσα. And again, Ἐγενόμην
Act. 20. 24 διάκονος, *I was made a Deacon*. I conclude, that if Apostles be called Dea-
Eph. 3. 7. cons, and Deacons be called Apostles, and yet the Offices are, and are re-
Col. 1. 23. puted to be, distinct and severall: So may the same men be called sometime Bishops, sometime elders or Presbyters, and yet the two different degrees remain different and unconfounded. Take heed of enforcing such
a Rom. 15. 8. argument, to prove a Parity in digree by the community of Appellation, since you may read of our blessed Savior himself, that he is a[a] Deacon, an
b Esa. 41. 27 b Evangelist, an c Apostle, a d Bishop. But for bearing this, I proceed.
c Heb. 3. 1. Mr. *Speaker*, I come now in briefe to my third Episcopacy, *Episcopus*
d 1 Pet. 2. 25. *Princeps*. This, this third age is the burden of our song,

——— *De duro est ultima ferro.*

God was the first: the second was bright and glistering, a silver age at least. But this, this where we now are, it is yron, I and rusty too.

This is that Clergy Monarch whom we would avoid. This ambition of a sole power, it is a very old sin, it began in *Diotrephes*, of whom the Apostle complains that he was φιλοπρωτεύων, *Primatum ailexit*, he loved to be a Primate, the first, the sole in authority. He (*Diotrephes* alone) did *cast the brethren out of the Church*: and therefore the Apostle doth threaten that when he comes, *he will bring the deeds of Diotrephes to remembrance*.
3 Jo. 1. 9. This dangerous soleship is a fault in our Church indeed; and this I take to be *pestilentia Cathedra*, the very pest and poyson of Episcopacy; this is that which must away, and this being gone, I shal not fear their tyranny.

If it were not for this, they could neither oppresse good Ministers, nor preferre dull droans, scandalous persons, nor pragmaticall Innovators. If they had not been so sole in power, our many severall chaires for Religion had not groaned with such number and weight of complaints. But by this they have been able to do mischiefe above beliefe.

Et ipse miror, vixque jam facto malo,
Sen. *Potuisse fieri credo* ———

The

The exemplar piety, the ardent love and sweet humility of holy Bishops in the first four centuries, did worke so farre upon the credulous hopes of both Clergie and Laity, that presuming to finde in the same Chair a succession of the same goodnesse, they became guilty of a desperate submission to a sole power of one man, before they knew what changes, and what consequences they should feele.

Ignatius the great Bishop of Antioch, doth discriminate his owne Episcopacy, from an Apostleship, even by this, that he had not a soleship of power and authority as they, and therefore he saies, οὐχ ὡς Ἀπόστολος ἐπιτάσσω, *I doe not command you as an Apostle.*

This Bishop keeps a dangerous distance between his owne Pharisaicall worship, and the Plebeian Clergy, who yet are all in order as good, and many of them in merit better then his Lordship.

To draw this to a point: The first Episcopacy we all are vow'd unto. The second, none will dissent from, but a lover of Novellisme: The third, none can submit unto, but such as are content to be passive in a Tyranny. Away then with that, and with that alone, and then away with their needlesse question who say: shew us another government, before you take this away.

Away with that *interregnum* of Lay-Commissioners, the high roade way, or the next degree to Anarchy. Renovation is not Innovation, to reforme is not to bring in a new forme, but to purge the present forme, by reducing it unto the old. *Querite antiquas semitos, & State super eas.* Jer. 6. *State*: stay there: we may keep our places, though we change our postures. Away with our present Episcopacy, but give us the ancient Presidency. Both may be done at once.

Mr. *Speaker*, This way of Commissioners, wherein five Laymen shall have the controll of all that is or was of Clergy cognisance and function: *mirabile dictu*, I want words, — I much feare that this may prove a dangerous new way, to let in other new wayes hereafter. In the meane time what view, what shew, what face of a Church shall poore *England* have? *England* of late the glory and the pride of Christendome reformed! My heart akes to thinke, that when Christendome was ready to come over unto us, we are now ready to runne away from our selves: And to see that we labour so much for Ruine and Eradication, that we are like to lose (by a not seasonable laying hold of the now) the most glorious hopes of a full and blessed reformation that ever lay before a Parliament. The issue will be, if we will have ruine, we shall have ruine. If at present we have that active Ruine so much pursued, we shall shortly

Mal. 4. 1. have a passive Ruine undesired. Let us not be fond of this ill sounding Proverbe: Take away both *Root and Branch*: it is threatned as a curse, I never read it any where as the language of a blessing.

But (Sir) *Usque quo?* How long shall we be in this wildernesse of Anarchy? No time, no bound set, no period fixed to our confusion of government? How dare we thus decompose, disfigure, and deforme the beauty of our Church? will your Compositionated Church be *comely as the Tents of Kedar, and as the curtains of Solomon?* Where is that *Acies ordinata*, the Church that was prophesied to be *terrible as an army with banners?*

Cant. 1. 4.

Zach. 11. In the Prophet *Zachary* the Lord doth threaten it as a curse, to breake *both his Staves*: both that of *Beauty* (which is interpreted the beautifull order of government) and that of *Bands* (which is construed brotherly unity:) and surely I think *order and unity*, If one be broken, neither is firme. Let this then happen to other Nations to our enemies; but with us let the *bands of unity*, and the *beauty of order* be our double support: other wise we shall have cause to bemoan our selves in the words of the same Prophet, *Howle ye Fir trees, for the Cedar is fallen: Because all the mighty are destroyed — for the defenced forrest is cut down. There is the voice of howling of Shepheards, for their glory is destroyed.*

Zach. 11. 2.

For my part, I doe here freely and heartily professe, that I am none of those men, that 1600. years after my Saviour came to plant his Church will consent to give a new rule, a new invented government to his Church never knowne until this age. I dare not think (who can think it *salvo pietate?*) that the Son of God, the *wisdome of the Father*, came downe from Heaven to plant a Church, to erect a Kingdome, and that he did erect this Kingdome that he did plant this Church, many hundred yeares since, and this with the deare price of his precious blood, but either never would, or never could blesse it with a good government till we were born to set it right. Take heed of such assertions, that give way to inferences and consequences of unavoidable impiety, and may lead on a new path to Atheisme. Beleeve it (*Sir*) beleeve this: The *Wisedome of the wisedome of God*, cannot be guilty (I speak with zeale and reverence) of such an improvidence, to erect his Kingdome then, & to give it his rule but now! Joyne with me (I beseech you Sir) in this faith, that our blessed Saviour *on whose shoulders the government did rest*, did not immediatly, and for so many ages after forsake his Church, and abandon it to Antichristianisme, with whom at first he promised to be *alwayes unto the end of the world.*

Esa 9. 6. Matth. 28. 20.

In

In a word (Sir) we are all quick-sented, we are all on fire to hear of an arbytrary rule in the civill State: I beseech you, let us all be equally of more zealous for the Lord of Hosts: Let us not be guilty of bringing in an arbitrary rule into his house. Take heed (*Sir*) let us all take heed of such a dangerous parity, as some would bring in amongst us; and the rather because they presume to set the stampe of divine authorority upon that counterfeit metall.

Parity of degrees in Church-government hath no foundation in holy Scripture, and is as absonous to reason, as parity in a State or family. Indeed is a fancy a dream, a meer *non entity*, it neither hath, nor ever had a being. If it be any thing, it is absolute Anarchisme, and that is nothing, for privation of government is not a government.

But on the contrary, imparity is from divine authority: our Saviour did plant it, and then I am sure it is a plant that should grow and continue. By the way I presse you not with instances of Gods Church under the law, though that, and this under the Gospell were both planted by the same Al-knowing wisdom. From the equity of which law there, and from the imparity of Governours therein, a most solid and unfailing argument may be deduced for the lawfulnesse of an imparity also under the Gospell. For that which is good in it selfe, is ever so, And without all peradventure, if Church imparity did (in its owne being) lye crosse unto the will of God, or to the Law of his Church, God never would, never could have commanded it. But that our Saviour also in the Evangelicall Church did plant imparity is most cleare. First he chose his 12 *Apostles*. Afterward he appointed 70. *Disciples*, yet no man can affirme that these were all of the same Order, Dignity, and Degree. If they had been so, what needed so curious supplement when once the number was reduced to eleven? After our Saviours ascension, the holy Apostles did ordaine another imparity, and that was of [d] Deacons.

[c] St. *Paul* biddeth some σωφρονεῖν, to *watch and observe*; He commendeth others if they desire ἐπισκοπῆς, to *oversee*. So there are κοπιῶντες, *labourers in the word*; and you know who was ὁ ἐργάτης, [h] *a wise master-builder*, which is more then others were, though all be called συνεργοί, and συνεργοῦντες, [i] *fellow workmen, fellow-labourers* in the spirituall building. Farther, *Sir*, as you read [k] στρατιῶται, *souldiers*, and [l] συστρατιῶται, *fellow-souldiers*: so you may read also that there were οἱ ἡγούμενοι, [m] *Leaders* and *Governours*, such as had *oversight* and must be *obeyed*. The Elder or Presbyter is frequent in the Apostolicall Epistles, and there are in power and honour above these (not as our Novellists do fondly construe under these) [n] οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες, *the ruling Presbyters*. One of which num-

Luk. 6.13. Luk. 10.1. Acts 1. [d] Act. 6.6. [e] Phil. 3.17 [f] 1 Tim. 3.1 [g] 1 The. 5.12 [h] 1 Cor. 3.1 [i] Rom. 16. 3. 21. Phi. 2.25. Philem. 24 [k] 2 Tim. 2.3 [l] Phil. 2.25 Phile. 1.2. [m] Heb. 13. 17. 24. [n] 1 Tim. 5. 17.

*Rom. 1. 8 ber. S. *Paul* doth call ὁ ἐπιστάμενον, *the Ruler*. As in *Ignatus* there are οἱ ἡγούμενοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *The Leaders or Rulers of Churches*.

ad Tral.

Is there no imparity in all this? Then the Rulers and the ruled are the same in Logick. But for my part I am cleare and confident in this, that imparity in power, among persons officed in the Church, is both lawfull and expedient; and ought to be preserved, if order, decency, necessity, universall practice, Apostolicall example, and Divine authority can altogether make but one concludent argument.

Mr. *Speaker* I do humbly and earnestly intreat, and beg of every Member of this House, seriously and sadly to examine his owne soule (never more cause then in this present Vote) what end, and what ultimate aime he hath in this dreadfull Bill. What is the government his heart doth wish for? Three wayes of Church-government I have heard off, and no more; the *Episcopall*, the *Presbyteriall*, and that new-borne Bastard, *Independency*: *Non datur quartum*, The last of these is nothing but a confounding Ataxy, rent upon rent, and a schisme of schismes, untill all Church Community be torne into Atomes, every three men (nay every three women) dissociating themselves into an ἐθελοθρησκείαν, *a will-worship* of their owne devising, which fondly and madly the would call a Church. Where, and in what corner of the world hath this aëry Independency been asleep untill these dayes? *Quo consule?* under what Kings Reigne was it borne? where may I heare that it hath a being? where may I read (below the world in the Moone) that ever it had a being? I will be bold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all selfe-pride, heresie, schisme, sedition, and for libertinisme, except an outward seeming Saintship. A pestilence to all government, a traiterous and clouted Anarchy. If this way have any favourers in this House, let them owne their Religion, and speake for it.

As may be collected by Spencers wretched Pamphlet.

The next is the *Presbyteriall* way, a more orderly, and a better tempered novelty then the other, but a novelty, and indeed but elder brother to Independency: upon this you had my sense at Mid-summer last. It is enough for me that I can point out when it began: since my Father was borne, or I am sure at most in my Grand-fathers dayes: and it is my fixed resolution, that since (by Gods blessing) I am of the oldest Religion, I will never consent to any but to the oldest government.

The third way is Episcopall: the origall whereof is high, aud beyond my search to define: yet this I am bold to affirme, it had a Being, and that an allowed Being in the best, the first, the purest age, and (as I said before) if it be not of *Apostolicall Institution*, yet cleare enough it is of *Apostolicall permission*, It will be said that our Bishops are nothing such:

yet (*Sir*, I pray you) may not they be eaſier made ſuch, then the Dutch or Scottiſh Presbytery, or a New-England Independency can be? what is our worke but to reforme? I would the queſtion were put whether our Epiſcopacy ſhall be reformed, or not.

Firſt (Mr. *Speaker*) it is true, there are degrees in Epiſcopacie it ſelfe: and to this point alſo, give me leave to expreſſe my ſelfe, and it may be neceſſary for me ſo to do, although I am confident you are herein præreſolved as I wiſh *Sir*, the ſtaires are ſo eaſie, and ambition (that firſt made Divels) is ſo apt to climbe, that ſo long as the Ladder is not taken away The (1) Prieſt would be a (2) rurall Deane. He an (3) Archdeacon. Then (4) a Biſhop. An (5) Archbiſhop. A (6) Metropolitan. A (7) Primate. The Primate would be a (8) Patriarch (his owne booke breathed that hope) and once a Patriarch, why not a (9) *Pope*? Thus have you nine degrees of a terreſtriall Hierarchy, ſutable to the invented nine Orders of a Cœleſtiall Hierarchy among the Angels. It was a fond fancy to invent them in the world above, and it will prove a dangerous folly in us to ſuffer theſe in the world below. One of the linkes of this Chaine is almoſt burſt aſunder: never let that be ſodered againe. Sir *in uno Scylla multi Marii*: Cut off but one *Archiepiſcopacie*, and you ſhall at once deſtroy with it, both Metropolitan, Primate and Patriarch, and in time the *Pope* alſo. Archiepiſcopacie! why, who ever voted that to be Divine? Nay, who can give a good morall and prudentiall reaſon for the ſubſiſtence of Archiepiſcopacie? This indeed is a *Prince* among the Lordly *Prelates*, and they all doe ſweare Canonicall fealty and allegeance to his ſoveraign Miter. But I forbear, being confident there is a concurrency enough in this Houſe to vote the Abolition of that needleſſe, and that dangerous degree.

So then my ſence is thus in briefe. Away with Archiepiſcopacy both *roote and branch*. Away with my lord Biſhop both *roote and branch*. Touch not our *Paſtor* Biſhop. Reforme, reduce, replant our Biſhop *Preſident*, and with him his *Preſbytery*. Give him his ancient, due, and proper power. Let him ordaine and cenſure, but with due aſſiſtency, and not otherwiſe, Reaſon and neceſſary, and all exemplar government require this Epiſcopacy: Shew me a Colledge without a Maſter: A City without a Governour: A ſhip without a *Pylot*: An Army without a Generall: Doe the thrive without an Excellency? or doth *Venice* proſper without a Duke? or can you ſecure our owne Houſe without a Speaker.

But *Sir*, I have heard ſome among us ſay, if then wee muſt have a Biſhop, let him be like a Pylot, onely for a voyage: let him be like your ſelfe, a Speaker onely for a Parliament. I anſwer, if but ſo, yet is it

better then any other way that I see yet propounded to you? farre better then any hazardous way of Commissioners, that shall beginne now, and end no man knowes when. But *Sir*, I come in againe upon my owne ground, and doe affirme that *ab initio non fuit sic*; your Bishop of old was not occasionall *pro re natâ*, and immediately degraded, nothing so: but continued a fixed, constant, perpetuall moderator and president for life, unlesse outed for his own demerits. I am for the old way, Reason and Religion have allowed it, and the constant Practise of the best and most antient times hath honoured it.

Take this also farther to approve it. *If* your Bishop *President* be not constant, the encouragement to *Piety* and Learning will not be so constant. Let desert in the Church have its own sphære (as desert in the civill State hath) a constant reward of Honour and of *Profit*. For *Sir*, Honour and Profit must invite forth Learning and industry, or you shall have none.

Thus have you (with my imperfections) my sense upon Episcopall goverment, the first part of your Bill: I passe in brief unto their Cathedrall Covents, my second distribution. Mr. *Speaker*, I have bin diligent and attentive to the whole procedure of al debates of this nature, yet am I just where I ever was, nothing moved, not at all changed, unlesse this be a change; that by hearing my owne sense better argued for by others, then I could doe for my selfe, it is now deeper fortified within me.

One main exception to the quite voting away our Cathedrals, ever was and both yet remain with me, That which sticks with me is this: what certainty, what security shall I have that *Learning* and *Religion* shall have a perpetuall maintenance, and a sure reward of *Honour* and *Profit* Proportional? you will say, that your Vote already passed will secure me; nothing so: You have indeed voted that *al the Lands of the Deans and Chapters shall be employed to the advancement of Learning and piety*. But in the mean time what becomes of the Bishops Lands; They are Cathedrall also: if you take away the present proprietor, what shall become of the Land? we shal not rifle for it; Shall we make a gift of what is none of our own? or shall we cure the Common-wealth at the cost of the Church? I heare little said in the House, I heare too much in private.

But I proceed. This Vote (I say) doth not secure me: *It* is too general My reason why I am not herewith satisfied is this, because for ought this Vote expresseth, you may give al the Land to any one use only and performe your Vote; as for instance, if all the wealth of Deanries be distributed among the Parish-Ministers only, your Vote is fulfilled; But all *Learning* and the *Piety*, that we are bound to take care of, is not thereby provided for.

This

This (I say) doth therefore stick with me, and notwithstanding your generall Vote so inwardly, that unsill I do see and know, how & in what manner the use and the particular dispofall of this great revenue (both Episcopall and conventall) shall be, I cannot concur to vote away the present possessors thereof: No, not the future successors thereunto. Our Deanes and Prebends as now they stand, or rather, as they have of late abused themselves, are both burdensome and scandalous to us, and to our Religion. Yet I must look upon their revenue, as the great reward, and powerfull encouragement of *Religion* and of *Learning*.

Some would alter and amend these cloysters, others would *root* them out; some would transfer their wealth, but do not tell whither. Some would annex all to the Crown, to enlarge the royall revenue; Some reputing them *Incendiaries*, would out of their forfeited estates, pay our debt of promise to the Scots; Some would distribute all that wealth among Parish Ministers only; Others have mixt and different designes. And there want not some who upon all these Lands do write, *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; you know it was urged by a learned *Dr.* at the Bar, that of S. *Paul*, *Thou that abhorrest Idols, committest thou sacriledge?* This theame I shall decline, and whatsoever my opinion be, whether man can give unto God a speciall property in a peece of Land or not; yet am I fully resolved never to alienate any of these Revenues, but to mend the uses in the way of piety, so that this supposed danger of being sacrilegious shall be certainly out of my doores. Col. 2.12. D.H.Chet. Rom. 2.22.

In the next place, my humble and my earnest desire is, that you will maintaine the *Pen* as well as the Pulpit, Polemic as well as perswasive Learning. If our Cathedrals were rightly temper'd, we might hope for admirable fruit of their Revenues. Young Students in Divinity wander for want of manuduction. Poore Christians among us want a godly, sober, plaine and pithy English *Paraphrase* upon the whole Bible. Our Nation, our Religion, and all Christendome want the just Volumes of a large Latine Commentary. The body of Divinity should be reduced into a solid Catechisme. Every Heresie might bee choaked in its first breath. All the Fathers might be revised and briefly animadverted, I cannot thinke of halfe the happinesse we might hope for, so long as the rewards of *Wisdome* are held forth to invite and encourage industry. *Riches and honour are with me*, saith *Wisdome*, that knew how to invite. Take then none of the reward away, either of *Profit*, or of *Honour*; So much reward as you abate, so much industry you looose. Who ever went unto the *Horse-rider* onely to fight with the Dragon? only for that? Pro. 8. 18.

for

for victory, and for nothing else? No, *Sir*, there was the fruit of Gold (*Profit* as well as *Honour*) to be gained, to be atchieved, and for that the Dragon shall be fought withall.

——— *Quis enim doctrinam amplectitur ipsam,*
Præmia si tollas? ———

The Lawyer, the Physitian, the Merchant, through cheaper paines do usually arrive at richer fortunes; And but that it pleaseth God to work inwardly, I should wonder that so many able heads, ingenuous spirits, and industrious souls, should joy in the continuall life long paines, and care of a Parish Cure, about 1 *col. per an.* stipend for life, when with easier brows, fewer watchings, and lesser charg, they might in another profession (as every day we see it done) fasten a steady inheritance to them and their Children, of a far larger income.

In this place there was composure of that which was (on a like occasion) spoken 22. Novemb. and is entred pag. And this place is half imperfect for want of those lines here.

Let me here by way of anticipation, prevent that which will else come in objectively upon me. The Vniversities (it will be said) as amply furnished with able disputants: what need other care, other provision?

Truly M^r. *Speaker*, excepting some of our publike professours there, and some few of the heads of our Houses there, who hath descended into this *Areopagus*? There is indeed good training, good preparatory exercisings of raw Souldiers there; and much valour in counterfeit skirmishes among them: But for perfect Polemy in letters, you may guesse what our Vniversities can yeeld, by observing our Trayned Bands at common Musters: Your graduate in the schoole of war will tell you, that good Artillery men, though quick at a dry muster, and nimble with false fires, are not immediately compleated into true and full Souldiers: So every Syllogizor is not presently a match to cope with *Bellarmine*, *Baronius*, *Stapleton*, &c. M^r. *Speaker*, you see my heart; I move not, I plead not for the Deanes, nor for the Prebends. If they will not prove, if they cannot be turned to be champions in this holy warfare; then the rich revenue *detur digniori*: Let it be given to them that will bring forth better fruit. But if there may be had such a reduction of them, such a retrenching of them, nay, such a new forming of them, that we may be alway sure in all Polemicke learning, to have some men of valour, to goe in and out before us: Surely Sir, let them be so reduced, so retrenched, so new formed; if not, if this cannot be, then let others have the

wealth

wealth, that will do the work.

And after all this (I beſeech you) let me not be miſconſtrued, as if I intended an Apology for theſe Cathedrall ſocieties: it is neither in my wiſh nor power. Theſe Covents are ſtill the ſame with me they ever were: and the ſhort character of a Cathedrall Corporation (as now it ſtands abuſed) is ſtill the ſame it was. A neſt of Non-reſidents. An *Epicure in* Colledge of riot and voluptuouſneſſe. A ſchoole for complements in Religion: but a ſcourge upon the life and practice thereof. They have bin the *Aſylum* for ſuperſtition: but the *Scala Gemoniæ* for true Piety. Of late they have bin the ſhame of our Clergy: and are now almoſt become the ſcorn of our Laity. Yet *Sir*, for all this (all this ſo bad ſo true) I am ſtill where I was. Though the Channel be foul and muddy where theſe waters (I mean their wealth) doth run, yet I cannot wiſh it dryed up; but rather purged and cleanſed, or elſe a new channell cut, wherein the current of all their wealth may run on, pure and clean to the holy uſes of *Religion* and of *Learning*. *Sir*, many great and excellent uſes (all for *Piety* and *Learning*) may be preſented to you: I beſeech you let us conſider ſadly on it. For if this wealth be but once like water powred abroad, no time, no age to come will ever give us ſuch a ſtock again. And thus I end the ſecond of my two generall Heads.

To ſum up all, you ſee I am for the old originall Epiſcopacie, with Presbyters ſubjoyned thereunto: and I am for an explicite diſpoſall of all manner of Church revenues: your bill denyes me both. It denyes me my ſtrong wiſhes, and forceth upon me the terror of confuſion. This Bill doth ſeem to me an uncouth wilderneſſe, a diſmall vaſtneſſe, and a ſolitude wherein to wander, and to loſe our ſelves and our Church, never to be found again; me thinks we are come to the brink of a fatall *precipice*, and here wee ſtand ready to dare one another, who ſhall firſt leape downe. And that which increaſeth my horror and amazement to the height, is to hear men confidently affirm, that we go ſafe upon an even ground, and that all this while the government is not changed. Surely Sir, either my head is giddy, or elſe I ſee in this Bill our Engliſh Church turne round, or rather toſt upſide downe.

Perſwade the King to commit all his regall authority into 9. Commiſſioners, and tell him, that he is ſtill a Monarch. Beſide the change of governors, doe you not give us new rules? Do you not take away the old? And is the government ſtill the ſame? I will in-

instance into one. What is become of the divine Ordinance of Excommunication? must there be none? there is none in all your Bill. Five Lay-men shall require five Ministers to ordain: is not this new? Was this government with us? nay was it ever in the world before? five Lay-Commissioners must judge and pronounce in matter of heresie: yet still our Church-goverment is unchanged. I know not what to say in so dull, so flat a cause. Truly Sir, for my part I do look upon this Bill as upon the gasping period of all good order: it will prove the mother of absolute Anarchisme: it is with me as the passing bell to toll on the funerall of our Religion, which when it goes will leave this dismall shreek behind.

Ἐμοὶ θανόντι γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

When Religion dyes, let the world be made a bone-fire.

In short Sir, this Bill hath so little of my Hopes, so nothing of my Reason, so all of my Fears, that if it must passe, I do most humbly pray, and do earnestly beseech this honourable House to grant me this favour, that I may be admitted to my Protestation against this Bill, and so recorded. And (although some worthy Members of this House are troubled, as they have cause, to have their names set on a poast:) yet it is my ambition that I may as negative to this Bill, be poasted up from *Westminster* to the *Tower* and from *Dover to Barwick*, as one that dares not hazard a whole Nationall Church at blind man buffe.

To conclude all: so great a variety of matter: so totall a mutation, of so vast and so hazardous a consequence: it doth amaze me and distract me so, that although I must say No to your Bill, yet I hardly know with what motion to conclude. But thus I adventure.

Let the intent & scope of Reformation be divided into two bills.
Let the subject of the first be Church gverment.
Let the subject of the 2d. be the disposall of Church revenues.
Let both these bils go *Pari passu*, hand in hand together.

And because I cannot so well by word of mouth and memory present them, I do humbly beg leave either to read unto you such heads, for the first of these bils, as I conceive will well stand both with our Religion, and with the present Laws of the Common-wealth: Or else, that you will please to take in a new Bill ready formed to that sense, and I doubt not, but you will quickly find it the best and nearest way to Piety, Peace, the honour of our Religion, and the Glory of God.

Church-

Church-government,

REDUCED INTO A FEW HEADS,

fit (as I conceive) to be reformed into a Bill to be presented to the Commons House in Parliament.

Memorandum, *An imperfect Copy of these, without my knowledge or consent hath been three times Printed before.*

I.

I. *Imprimis*, Every severall Shire of *England* to be a severall Circuit or Diocesse for Ecclesiastick jurisdiction: excepting the little County of *Rutland*, which may be joyned to *Leicester*, And Yorkshire which may be well divided into three.

II. The Diocesse in Wales to remaine in Circuit as at present.

III. Twelve learned Divines of irreproveable life and Doctrine, to be selected in every Diocesse, as a constant Presbytery, and they to give necessary assistance to the Bishop.

IV. A pious, and painfull Divine of exemplar life and Learning to bee established the Bishop and constant President over this Presbytery, and throughout the severall Dioceses aforesaid respectively.

V. This Bishop in each Diocesse to ordaine, suspend, deprive, degrade, excommunicate, by and with consent and assistance of seven Divines of his Presbytery then present, and not otherwise.

VI. This Bishop to actuate and performe all those services and employments trusted unto, and expected from the present Bishops of the Land, by vertue of the present Lawes of the Land.

VII. The times of Ordination throughout the Land to be four times every yeare, *viz.* the first Sunday in every moneth of *May*, *August*, *November*, and *February* yearly.

VIII. Every Bishop constantly to reside within his Diocesse and to keepe his especiall residence in some one prime or

chiefe City or Town within his Dioceſſe: as in particular the Biſhop of *Kent* at *Canterbury*. The B. of *Suſſex* at *Chichester*, &c.

IX. Every Biſhop to have one eſpeciall particular Congregation within his Cure, the moſt convenient for neerneſſe to his chiefe reſidence, and the richeſt in value that may be had, where he ſhall duly preach, unleſſe he be lawfully hindred, and then ſhall take care that his cure be well ſupplyed by another.

X. No Biſhop ſhall remove, or be tranſlated from the Biſhoprick which he ſhall firſt undertake; unleſſe it be done by the King, with conſent of a Nationall Synod, or conſent of Parliament.

XI. Vpon death or other avoidance of a Biſhop, the King to grant a *Conge d'eſtier* to the whole Clergy of that Dioceſſe, and they to preſent three of the Presbyters aforeſaid, and the King to appoint which of the three his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

XII. The firſt Presbyters in every Dioceſſe to be named in this preſent Parliament.

XIII. Vpon the death or any other avoidance of a Presbyter, the Miniſters of that Dioceſſe to preſent three: and the Biſhop with the reſt of the Presbyters to make election out of that three: and if Votes be equall, then the Biſhops Vote to ſway the Election.

XIV. The *Conge d'eſtier* for election of a Biſhop, ſhall iſſue forth within two months after the death, or other avoidance of a Biſhop. The choice of another Presbyter to be within one month after the death or avoidance of a former Presbyter.

XV. No Biſhop or other Clergy man to have the conſtant manage of any Temporall office, or lecular juriſdiction, but only for the preſent to hold and keep the probate of Wills in the uſuall places, untill the Parliament ſhall otherwiſe reſolve. Yet I conceive it fit that the 12. Biſhops (by the reſt of the Biſhops to be choſen) by every Parliament called to ſit there aſſiſtant, to give advice in matter of Religion, and in caſes of conſcience, when the Houſe of Lords ſhall pleaſe to require it of them.

XVI. Parochiall Miniſters to be entruſted and endued with more power then formerly: the manner and extent whereof to be determined in the next Nationall Synod.

XVII. The Pariſh Miniſter to hold weekly Veſtries there with the Pariſhioners, to conſider and take notice of all manner of ſcandall within the Pariſh.

XVIII. The Pariſh Miniſters to meet in every rurall Deanery once

once every quarter, there to prepare, and make up (by joynt assent) such presentments of scandall, as may be fit to be transmitted to the Bishop and Presbytery.

XIX. The Bishop once a year (at Midsummer) to summon a Diocesan Synod, there to hear, and by generall vote to determine all such matter of scandall in life and doctrine as shall be presented to them.

XX. Every three years (at the same day the trienniall Parliament shall begin) a Nationall Synod to be (whereby there will be no need of Arch-bishops) which Synod shall for persons consist of all the Bishops in the Land, and of two Presbyters to be chosen by the rest out of each Presbytery: and of two Clarkes to be chosen out of every Dioceese by the Clergy thereof.

XXI. At the first day of their convention the Bishops out of their own number to chuse a moderator or president of the Synod.

XXII. From the Vestry, appeale may be to the rurall Deanery, from thence to the Diocesan Synod, and from the Diocesan to the Nationall Synod.

XXIII. This Nationall Synod to make and ordaine Canons for the government of the Church, but they not to binde, untill confirmed by the King in Parliament.

XXIV. Every Bishop to have over and above the Benefice aforesaid a convenient dwelling in the chiefe towne of his residence a certaine profit of a constant rent allowed and allotted proportionall to the Dioceese wherein he is to officiate.

XXV. That certain choice Benefices of the best value, and most convenient situation, that can be had, may be alotted to the Presbyters, one to each, and that they also may have each of them a constant yearly profit over and above his Benefice.

XXVI. As for the Revenue of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. a strict survay to be taken of all their rents and profits, by choice Commissioners in every severall County, and the same at an appointed time to be represented to the Parliament, and in the meane time no timber to be felled. Afterward some of the profits may be laid by to make a stock, wherewith to purchase in the first fruits and tenths, by ascertaining a more steady rent to the Crown. Impropriations may be bought in. Ministers Widowes and Orphans may not with Husband and Father lose all support. Libraries (at the publique charge) to be provided for every Bishop. And some Colledges erected, and by degrees endowed for Di-

vines therein to exercise themselves, through all the latitude of Theology.

POSTSCRIPT.

THus have you a faithfull and a clear exposure of my selfe in matter of Religion, both in what I have said and in what I wish may be done. Let the candid and ingenuous Reader judge me. Such of the prelatick partie as are in love with Present pomp and power will be averse unto me, because I pare so deep: The *Rooters*, the Antiprelatick party declaime against me, because I will not take all away. At last Midsummer a new Moone did take these men, I did begin to finde a different greeting, a change of salutation. Some expostulate: others condemne: some advise: others would seeme to condole: all upon occasion of my speech 21. *June*; although I finde not there (or in any thing else that I have said) any cause to make mee the object of *their* anger, *their* councell, or *their* pitty.

The plaine truth, (as I touched before) is that immediately upon my approach unto this Parliament, some circumstances did concur to lead my language on upon the Archbishop, not any personall passages (God and my soule do witnesse for me, I have not such a temper) But being servitor for that Shire, and in that Diocesse where some of his hardship then fresh and new was brought by complaint unto me; The accident of presenting that complaint, did beget me almost as many new friends as hee had old enemies: and I know not what misconception did thereupon (untruly) entitle me an enemie to the very function of Episcopacie. I never gave my name in to take away both *root and branch*. I love not the sound of a curse so well. If by the *Rooters* I have been so mistaken, their credulity is not my crime. And their foule language shall neither be my shame nor sorrow, I will repeat some of their salutations.

1 *A.G.* 1. One tels me that I would onely *have new Bishops in roome of*
2 *W.P.* *old* ones: *Cujus contrarium verum est*. 2. Another that I have a
3 *S.W.B.* *Pope in my belly*. 3. A third that hee was *never more sorry for any*
4 *M.S.* *speech* in the House, meaning that 21. *June*. 4. Another that *strange*
5 *W.C.* *things were said of me*. 5. A fifth and sixth, that I goe the way to
6 *Mr.S,S.* *spoile all their worke*, so I hope I doe. 7. A seventh that it is said I
7 *Dr.B.* *from others*, am *falne from Grace*: so some men seem desperately to looke into
8 *Dr.W.* the Arke of God. 8. An eight that I have *contraried all that I said*
9 *R.L.B.* *before*: let the Dr. shew me that now. 9. A ninth is told *that I am*

aposta-

apostated; I doubt his Religion (*in quantum* it differs from that of the Church of England) is an Apostacy. 10. A tenth that I am *gone over to their adversaries*. 11. An eleventh and twelfth that the *Primate of Ireland*, and Dr. *Browning have infected me*, I dare drink their potion. 13. That the two learned and painfull equals without match, Mr. *Reading*, and Mr. *Abbot*, abusing my trust in them and good opinion of them *do mislead me*; a slander upon three at once. 14. Dr. *Burges* and *I have conferred notes*; I wish we had. 15. That I am *for Bishops, for Crosses, and for Images*; true and false. 16. That if *I had hold where I was, there had not been a Bishop in the Land before August last*; a false wizard, I did hold where I was, and yet the Bishops are where they were. 17. That *I have lost the prayers* of many thousands. 18. That I have *lost the honour I had* and that *my conscience is not so good as it was in the beginning of this Parliament*. Good (Mr. *C.*) you who would have Bishops out of their chairs, come you out of the chair of the scornfull. You are one of them who jog our elbowes, and boar our Parliament ears with *Babylon*, *Antichrist*, and *the mystery of Iniquitie* which I dare say is grossely misunderstood by your self and many others of your *rooting* Tribe.

10 *Mr. F.*
11 *S. A. H.*
12 *T. W.*
13 *G. H.*
14 *S. E. P.*
15 *Mr. K.*
16 *I. K.*
17 *Civis ignotus.*
18 *T. C.*

Before this Parliament was convened, you would have joyned upon that day, when the sting of ill executed Episcopacie (the high Commission) had bin taken away; and (the Pest of the chair) soleship of power retrenched. One is done and both had bin effected, if you and such as you had not overheated a furnace that was burning hot before; and with pressing for *Ruine* have betrayed the time of a blessed *Reforming*. Take it unto you, for upon you, and the blind ignorant wilfulnesse of such as you, I do here charge the sad account of the losse of such a glorious Reformation, as being the revived image of the best and purest ages, would with its Beauty and Piety have drawn the eye and heart of all Christendome unto us. *The Horse-leaches daughters do crie, Give, give.* And you that have had enough, do stil cry more more. The greedy Vulture of an insatiate appetite is incurable, To reform Episcopacie it is in your esteem too saint, too cold a work, it is labor ill bestowed and unthankfully accepted, nay one of you (said in my hearing) it is a sin to labour in the dressing and pruning of that plant, which (say you) is not of God & must be digged up. And with Episcopacy, away with the burden of our Liturgy. [a] *If you take not off this burden also, it will be girded upon us closer and stronger*

Pro. 30. 15.

M. P.

a *S. M.*

stronger then ever. *Away with the thoughts of a Nationall Church also.* [b] *It hath no patterne in the Scripture.* [c] *It is impossible for a Nationall Church to be the true Church of Christ.* Let us have no Church but Congregations, [d] and let them be without all superintendency: as much to say, as let every family be a Church, and have religion as they please. Away with all [e] *distinction of Clergie and Laity, it is Popish and Antichristian. Let us then banish from us such popish names, and send them home to Rome.* [f] *The Church is a body of parity, whose members are all Kings and Priests.* [g] *And every man must exercise his gifts in common.* So also the learned (but herein absurd and grosse) [h] *Walo Messalinus, Omnes olim Presbyteri erant Laici*, and againe, *Waldenses* and *Lutherus, crediderunt justos ac fideles Laicos posse omnes, quæ in Ecclesia Dei agi necesse est, agere, & omnibus sanctioribus Ecclesiasticis defungi.* These things thus pressed, and pursued, I do not see but on that rise of the *Kingship* and *Priestship* of every particular man, the wicked sweetnesse of a popular parity may hereafter labour to bring the King down to be but as the first among the Lords, and then if (as a Gentleman of the House professed his desire to me) we can but bring the Lords downe into our House among us againe, *cum nos* All's done. No rather, all's undone, by breaking asunder that well ordered chain of government, which from the chair of *Jupiter* reacheth down by severall golden links even to the protection of the poorest creature that now lives among us.

What will the issue be, when hopes grow still on hopes? and one aime still riseth upon another, as one wave follows another? I cannot divine. In the meane time you of that party have made the worke of *Reformation* farre more difficult then it was at the day of our meeting, and the vulgar mind now fond with imaginary hopes, is more greedy of new atchievements then thankfull for what they have received. Satisfaction will not now be satisfactory. They and you are just in [a] *Seneca's* description. *Non patitur aviditas quenquam esse gratum. Nunquam enim improbe spei, quod datur, satis est. Eo majora cupimus, quo majora venerunt.* —— *Eque ambitio non patitur quenquam in ea mensura conquiescere, quæ quondam fuit ejus impudens votum.* —— *Ultra se cupiditas patrigit, & felicitatem suam non intelligit.* Learn moderation (*Mr. C.*) unlesse (as [b] some of you *Rooters* do seem too bold) you do think moderation it selfe a vice. The Stoick was in that point more pious then such Christians, his Motto was, and your lesson is, Ἀνέχου καὶ Ἀπέχου.

FINIS.

[b] *Protestation protested, p. 29.*
[c] Mich. Quinrin. p. 4.
[d] Barons *sermon vouched by Sir* Tho. Ashton. p. 4.
[e] *Assertion of Scottish government.* p. 3. & 5.
[f] Quintin. p. 9.
[g] *Spencers* Pamphlet.
[h] *Thought to be* Salmasius *against* Petavius, *p.* 397. 398.

[a] *De Benef. l. 2 c. 27.*

[b] *I. H. H. M. Epictetus.*